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MEMOIRS

OF THE

Cardinal *de Retz*,

CONTAINING

All the Great Events during the Minority of

LEWIS XIV.

And Administration of

Cardinal *MAZARIN*.

Done out of FRENCH.

LONDON:

Printed for J. BROTHERTON, at the *Bible* in *Cornhill*; Mr. STAG, and Mr. KING, in *Westminster-Hall*; T. PAYNE, near *Stationers-Hall*; and A. DODD, without *Temple-Bar*, 1723.

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Advertiſement.

THE Memoirs of the Cardinal *de Retz*, have met with ſuch Applauſe, that they have been Printed no leſs than Five Times in *France*, and Twice in the *Low Countries*; and almoſt as often attempted to be Tranſlated into *Engliſh*, by ſeveral Hands; who have only been diſcouraged from proceeding, by Reaſon of the Length of the Work, and the Obſcurity of ſome Paſſages in it, too difficult for Interpretation; as is confeſs'd by the ingenious Author of thoſe Monthly Memoirs, Printed at the *Hague*, intitled, *L' Europe Scavante.*

But it being lamented, that a Hiſtory, in general ſo uſeful and entertaining, ſhould be confined only to

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Foreigners, we have been encouraged, by ſome Perſons of the Firſt Rank, to Abridge it; and therefore have reduced it into one Volume, comprehending the Sum and Subſtance of the whole; leaving out all thoſe inexplicable Phraſes, and many of the tedious Diſputes in the Chambers, and the Town-houſe of *Paris*, and other diminutive Circumſtances, that no Ways concern an *Engliſh* Reader; and which have been ſufficiently treated of by other Authors, who have writ of thoſe Times.

THE

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THE PREFACE.

OUR AUTHOR,

JOHN-FRANCIS-PAUL DE GONDI, *Cardinal* de Retz, *Sovereign of* Commercy, *Prince of* Euville, *ſecond Archbiſhop of* Paris, *Abbot of St.* Denis *in* France, *was born at* Montmirel *in* Brie, *in* October 1614.

His Father was Philip Emanuel de Gondi, *Count* de Joigni, *General of the Galleys of* France, *and Knight of the King's Orders. And his Mother was* Frances Margaret, *Daughter of the Count of* Rochepot, *Knight of the King's Orders, and of* Mary de Lannoy, *Sovereign of* Commercy *and* Euville.

Peter de Gondi, *Duke of* Retz, *was his Brother, whoſe Daughter was the Dutcheſs* de Leſdigueres.

His Grandfather was Albert de Gondi, *Duke of* Retz, *Marquiſs of* Belle Iſle, *a Peer of* France, *Marſhal and General of the Galleys, Colonel of the* French *Horſe, Firſt Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, and Great* Cham-

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Chamberlain to the Kings Charles IX. *and* Henry III.

This Hiſtory was firſt Printed at Paris *in* 1705, *at the Expence of the Dutcheſs* de Leſdigueres, *the laſt of this Noble Family; whoſe Eſtate fell, after her Deceaſe, to that of* Villeroy.

His Preceptor was the famous Vincent de Paul, *Almoner to Queen* Anne *of* Auſtria.

In 1627, *he was made a Canon of the Cathedral of* Paris, *by his Uncle* John Francis de Gondi, *firſt Archbiſhop of that City, and was not long after created a Doctor of the* Sorbonne.

In 1643, *he was appointed Coadjutor of the Archbiſhoprick of* Paris, *with the Title of Archbiſhop of* Corinth; *during which, ſuch was his Paſtoral Vigilance, that the moſt important Affairs of the Church were committed to his Care.*

As to his General Character, if we take it from his own Memoirs, he had ſuch a Preſence of Mind, and ſo dextrouſly improved all Opportunities which Fortune preſented to him, that it ſeem'd as if he had foreſeen or deſired them. He knew how to put a good Gloſs upon his Failings, and oftentimes verily believed, he was really the Man which he affected to be only in Appearance. He was a Man of bright Parts, but no Conduct; being violent and inconſtant in his Intrigues of Love, as well as thoſe of Politicks; and ſo indiſcreet, as to boaſt of his ſucceſsful Amours with certain Ladies, whom he

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he ought not to have nam'd: He affected Pomp and Splendor, tho' his Profession demanded Simplicity and Humility: He was continually shifting Parties, being a Loyal Subject one Day, and the next a Rebel: One while a sworn Enemy to the Prime Minister, and by and by his zealous Friend; always aiming to make himself either formidable or necessary. As a Pastor, he had engrossed the Love and Confidence of the People; and as a Statesman, he artfully plaid them off against their Soveraign. He studied Characters throughly, and no Man painted them in truer Colours more to his own Purpose. Sometimes he confesses his Weaknesses, and at other Times betrays his Self-Flattery.

It being his Fate to be imprisoned by Mazarin, *first at* Vincennes, *and then at* Nantes, *he made his Escape to* Rome, *and in* 1656 *retired to the* Franche Comte; *where Cardinal* Mazarin *gave Orders for his being arrested; upon which he posted to* Switzerland, *and from thence to* Constance, Strasburg, Ulm, Augsburg, Frankfort, *and* Cologn; *to which last Place,* Mazarin *sent Men to take him dead or alive; whereupon he retired to* Holland, *and made a Trip from one Town to another till* 1661, *when Cardinal* Mazarin *dying, our Cardinal went as far as* Valenciennes, *in his Way to* Paris, *but was not suffer'd to come further; for the King and the Queen Mother would not be satisfied without his Resignation of the Archbishoprick of* Paris, *to which he at last*

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last submitted; upon advantageous Terms for himself, and an Amnesty for all his Adherents. But still the Court carried it so severely to the Cardinal, that they would not let him go and pay his last Devoirs to his Father, when in his Dying-Bed. At length, however, after Abundance of Solicitation, he had Leave to go and wait upon the King and Queen, who, on the Death of Pope Alexander VII. *sent him to* Rome, *to assist at the Election of his Successor.*

No Wonder that our King Charles II. *promised to intercede for the Cardinal's Re-establishment; for when the Royal Family was starving, as it were, in their Exile at* Paris, *our Cardinal did more for them than all the* French *Court put together; and, upon the King's Promise to take the* Roman Catholicks *of* England *into his Protection, after his Restoration, he sent an Abbot to* Rome *to solicit the Pope to lend him Money, and to dispose the* English *Catholicks in his Favour.*

He would fain have returned his Hat to the new Pope, but his Holiness, at the Solicitation of Lewis XIV. *order'd him to keep it. After this, he chose a total Retirement, liv'd with exemplary Piety, considerably retrench'd his Expences, and hardly allow'd himself common Necessaries, in order to save Money to pay off a Debt of 3 Millions, which he had contracted; and had the Happiness to make even with the World before his Death, which happen'd at* Paris *the* 24th *of* August 1679, *in the* 66th *Year of his Age.*

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MEMOIRS

OF THE

Cardinal *De* RETZ, &c.

BOOK I.

MADAME,

THOUGH I have a natural Averſion to give you the Hiſtory of my own Life, which has been chequered with ſuch a variety of different Adventures, yet I had rather ſacrifice my Reputation to the Commands of a Lady, for whom I have ſo peculiar a Regard, than not diſcover the moſt ſecret Springs of my Actions, and the inmoſt Receſſes of my Soul.

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BY the Caprice of Fortune, many Miſtakes of mine have turned to my Credit, and I very much doubt, whether it would be prudent in me to take off the Veil with which ſome of them are covered. But as I am reſolved to give you a naked impartial Account of even the moſt minute Paſſages of my Life, ever ſince I have been capable of Reflection; ſo I moſt humbly beg you not to be ſurprized at the little Art, or rather, great Diſorder, with which I write my Narrative; but to conſider, that tho' the diverſity of Incidents may ſometimes break the Thread of the Hiſtory, yet I will tell you nothing but with all that Sincerity which the Value I have for you demands: And to convince you farther, that I will neither add to, nor diminiſh from the plain Truth, I ſhall ſet my Name in the Front of the Work.

FALSE Glory, and falſe Modeſty, are the two Rocks on which Men, who have written their own Lives, have generally ſplit, but which *Thuanus* among the Moderns, and *Caſar* amongſt the Ancients, happily eſcaped. I doubt not you will do me the Juſtice to believe, that I do not pretend to compare my ſelf with thoſe great Writers in any reſpect but Sincerity; a Virtue, in which we are not only permitted, but commanded to rival the greateſt Heroes.

I am deſcended from a Family Illuſtrious in *France*, and ancient in *Italy*, and born upon a Day remarkable for the Taking of a monſtrous *Sturgeon* in a ſmall River that runs through the Country of *Montmirail* in *Brie*, the Place of my Nativity.

I am not ſo vain, as to be proud of having it thought that I was uſhered into the World with a Prodigy or a Miracle, and I ſhould never have mentioned this trifling Circumſtance, had it not been for ſome Libels ſince publiſhed by my Enemies, wherein they affect to make the ſaid *Sturgeon* a Preſage of the future Commotions in this Kingdom, and me the chief Author of them. I

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I beg leave to make a ſhort Reflection on the Nature of the Mind of Man. I believe there never was an honeſter Soul in the World than my Father's; I might ſay, his Temper was the very Eſſence of Virtue: For tho' he ſaw I was too much inclin'd to Duels and Gallantry, ever to make a Figure as an Eccleſiaſtick, yet his great Love for his Eldeſt Son, not the View of the Archbiſhoprick of *Paris*, which was then in his Family, made him reſolve to devote me to the Service of the Church. For he was ſo inſenſible of that, that I could even ſwear, he would have proteſted from the very bottom of his Heart, that he had no other Motive than the Apprehenſion of the Dangers, to which a contrary Profeſſion might expoſe my Soul: So true it is, that nothing is ſo ſubject to Deluſion as Piety; all ſorts of Errors creep in, and hide themſelves under that Veil: It gives a Sanction to all the Turns of Imagination; and the Honeſty of the Intention is not ſufficient to guard againſt it. In a Word, after all I have told you, I turn'd Clergyman, tho' it would have been long enough firſt, had it not been for the following Accident.

THE Duke *de Retz*, Head of our Family, broke at that Time, by the King's Order, the Marriage Treaty concluded ſome Years before, between the Duke * *de Mercœur* and his Daughter; and next Day came to my Father, and agreeably ſurpriz'd him, by telling him he was reſolved to give her to his Couſin, to reunite the Family.

As I knew ſhe had a Siſter worth above fourſcore Thouſand Livres a Year, I, that very inſtant, thought of a double Match: I had no hopes they would think on me, knowing how Things ſtood, ſo I was reſolved to provide for my ſelf.

* Lewis, *Duke of* Mercœur, *ſince Cardinal* de Vandome, *Father to the Duke* de Vandome, *and Grand Prior, died* 1669.

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HAVING got a Hint, that my Father did not intend to carry me to the Wedding, as foreſeeing it may be what happened, I pretended to be better pleas'd with my Profeſſion, to be touched by what my Father had ſo often laid before me on that Subject, and I acted my Part ſo well, that they believ'd I was quite another Man.

MY Father reſolved to carry me into *Brittany*, and the rather, becauſe I had ſhewn no Inclination that Way. We found Mademoiſelle *de Retz* at *Beaupreau* in *Anjou*: I look'd on the Eldeſt only as my Siſter, but immediately conſidered Mademoiſelle *de Scepaux*, (ſo the youngeſt was called) as my Miſtreſs.

I thought her very handſome, her Complexion the moſt charming in the World, Lillies and Roſes in abundance; admirable Eyes, a very pretty Mouth; and what ſhe wanted in Stature, was abundantly made up by the Proſpect of fourſcore Thouſand Livres a Year, and of the Dutchy of *Beaupreau*, and by a Thouſand Chimeras which I form'd on theſe real Foundations.

I play'd my Game nicely from the beginning, and acted the Eccleſiaſtick and the Devotee both in the Journey, and during my ſtay there; nevertheleſs I paid my Sighs to the Fair one, ſhe perceiv'd it; I ſpoke at laſt, and ſhe heard me, but not with that Complacency which I could have wiſh'd.

But obſerving ſhe had a great Kindneſs for an old Chambermaid, Siſter to one of my Monks of *Buſai*, I did all I could to gain her, and by the Means of an hundred Piſtoles down, and vaſt Promiſes, I ſucceeded. She made her Miſtreſs believe that ſhe was deſigned for a Nunnery, and I for my Part told her, that I was doomed to nothing leſs than a Monaſtery. She could not endure her Siſter, becauſe ſhe was her Father's Dar-

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Darling, and I was not over fond of my * Brother for the ſame Reaſon: This reſemblance in our Fortunes contributed much to the uniting our Affections, which, I perſuaded my ſelf, were reciprocal, and reſolv'd to carry her to *Holland*.

INDEED there was nothing more eaſie; for *Machecous*, whither we were come from *Beaupreau*, was no more than half a League from the Sea: But Money was the only Thing wanting, for my Treaſure was ſo drain'd by the Gift of the hundred *Piſtoles* abovementioned, that I had not a *Sous* left. But I found a Supply, by telling my Father, that as the Farming of my Abbeys was tax'd with the utmoſt Rigour of the Law, ſo I thought my ſelf oblig'd in Conſcience, to take the Adminiſtration of them into my own Hands. This Propoſal, tho' not pleaſing, could not be rejected, both becauſe it was regular, and becauſe it made him in ſome meaſure believe that I would not fail to keep my Benefices, ſince I was willing to take care of them. I went the next Day to Lett † *Buzai*, which is but five Leagues from *Machecous*; I treated with a *Nantz* Merchant, whoſe Name was *Jucatieres*, who took the Advantage of my eagerneſs, and for 4000 Crowns ready Money, got a Bargain that made his Fortune; I thought I had four Millions; and was juſt ſecuring one of the *Dutch* Pinks, which are always in the Road of *Retz*, when the following Accident happened, which broke all my Meaſures.

Mademoiſelle *de Retz* [for ſhe had taken that Name after her Siſter's Marriage] had the fineſt Eyes in the World, but they never had ſuch Beauties as when ſhe was languiſhing in Love, the

* Peter de Gondi, *D. of* Retz, *who died in* 1676.
† *One of his Abbeys.*

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Charms of which I never yet ſaw equalled. We happen'd to dine at a Lady's Houſe, a League from *Machecoux*, where Madamoiſelle *de Retz* looking in the Glaſs, at an Aſſembly of Ladies, diſplayed all thoſe tender, lively, moving Airs, (which the *Italians* call *Morbidezza*, or, the Lover's Languiſh.) But unfortunately, ſhe was not aware, that * *Palluau*, ſince Mareſchal *de Clerambaut*, was behind her, who obſerved her Airs, and being attach'd very much to Madame *de Retz*, with whom he had in her tender Years been very familiar, told her faithfully what he had obſerv'd.

MADAME *de Retz*, who mortally hated her Siſter, diſcover'd it that very Night to her Father, who did not fail to impart it to mine. The next Morning at the Arrival of the Poſt from *Paris*, all was in a Hurry, my Father pretending to have received very preſſing News; and after our taking a ſlight, though public leave of the Ladies, my Father carry'd me to lie that Night at *Nantes*. I was, as you may imagine, under very great Surprize and Concern. For I could not gueſs at the Cauſe of this ſudden Departure. I had nothing to reproach my ſelf with upon the ſcore of my Conduct; neither had I the leaſt Suſpicion that *Palluau* had ſeen any thing more than ordinary, till I arriv'd at *Orleans*, where the Matter clear'd up; for my Brother, to prevent my eſcape, which I vainly attempted ſeveral times in my Journey, ſeiz'd my ſtrong Box, in which was my Money, and then I underſtood that I was betrayed; in what Grief then I arriv'd at *Paris*, I leave you to imagine.

I found there *Equilli*, *Vaſſe*'s Uncle, and my firſt Couſin, who, I dare ſay, was one of the honeſt-

eſt

* Philip de Clerambaut *Count* de Palluau, *died* July 24, 1665. *Aged* 59 *Years*.

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eſt Men of his time; and lov'd me from his very Soul. I appris'd him of my Deſign to run away with Mademoſeille *de Retz*. He heartily approv'd of my Project, not only becauſe it wou'd be a very advantageous Match for me, but becauſe he was perſuaded that a double Alliance was neceſſary to ſecure the Eſtabliſhment of the Family.

The * Cardinal *de Richelieu* (then Prime Miniſter) mortally hated the Princeſs *de Guimene*, becauſe he was perſwaded ſhe had croſſed his Amours with the † Queen, and had a Hand in the Trick play'd him by Madame *du Fargis*, one of the Queen's dreſſing Women, who ſhew'd her Majeſty (*Mary de Medicis*) a Love Letter, writ by his Eminence, to the Queen, her Daughter in Law. The Cardinal puſh'd his Reſentment ſo far, that he attempted to force the Mareſchal *de Breze*, his Brother in Law, and Captain of the King's Life Guards, to expoſe Madame *de Guimene*'s Letters, which were found in Monſieur *de* || *Montmorenci*'s Coffer, when he was Arreſted at Caſtle *Naudari*. But the Mareſchal *de Breze* had ſo much Honour and Generoſity as to return them to Madame *de Guimene*. He was nevertheleſs a very extravagant Gentleman; but the Cardinal *de Richelieu* perceiving he had been formerly honour'd by ſome kind of Relation to him, and dreading his angry

* Armand Jean du Pleſſis, *Cardinal* de Richelieu, *was born in* 1585, *and died in* 1642.

† Anne *of* Auſtria, *eldeſt Daughter to* Philip *the* IIId, *King of* Spain, *and Wife to* Lewis *the* XIIIth, *died* 1666.

|| Henry de Montmorenci *was apprehended the* 1ſt *of* September, 1632, *and beheaded in* Toulouſe *in* November *the ſame Year.*

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Excurſions and Preachments before the King, who had ſome Conſideration for his Perſon, he bore with him very patiently, for the ſake of ſettling Peace in his own Family, which he paſſionately longed to unite and eſtabliſh, but which was the only Thing out of his Power, who could do whatever elſe he pleas'd in *France*. For the Mareſchal *de Breze*, had conceived ſo ſtrong an Averſion againſt * Monſieur *de la Meilleraie*, who was then Great Maſter of the Artillery, and afterwards Mareſchal *de la Meilleraie*, that he could not endure him. He did not imagine that the Cardinal would ever look upon a Man, who, though his firſt Couſin, was of a mean Extraction, had a moſt contemptible Aſpect, and, if Fame ſays true, not one extraordinary good Quality.

THE Cardinal was of another Mind, and had a great Opinion, indeed with abundance of Reaſon, of M. *de la Meilleraie*'s Courage, but he eſteemed his military Capacity infinitely too much, tho' in truth, 'twas not contemptible. In a Word, he deſign'd him for that Poſt, which we have ſince ſeen ſo glorioufly fill'd by M. *de Turenne*.

You may, by what has been ſaid, Judge of the Diviſions that were in Cardinal *Richelieu*'s Family, and how much he was concern'd to appeaſe them. He labour'd it with great Application, and for this End, thought he could not do better than to unite theſe two Heads of the Faction, in a cloſe Confidence with himſelf, excluſive of all others. To this End he uſed them jointly and in common as the Confidents of his Amours, which certainly were neither ſuitable to the Luſtre of his Actions, nor the Grandure of his Life; for *Marion de Lorme*, one of his Miſtreſſes, was little better than a

* Charles de la Porte, *Mareſchal* de la Meilleraie, *died in* 1664.

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a common Proſtitute. Another of his Concubines was Madame *de Fruges*, that old Gentlewoman, whom you ſo often ſee ſauntring in the Cloſets. The firſt uſed to come to his Apartment in the Night, and he went by Night to viſit the other, who was but the pitiful Caſt-off of *Buckingham* and *Epienne*. The two Confidents introduced him there in coloured Cloaths; for they had clapp'd up a haſty Peace, to which Madame *de Guimene* had liked to have fallen a Sacrifice.

MONSIEUR *de la Meilleray*, whom they call'd the Grand Maſter, was in Love with Madame *de Guimene*, but ſhe could not love him, who being both in his own Nature, and by reaſon of his great Favour with the Cardinal, the moſt Imperious Man living, took it very ill that he was not belov'd; he complain'd, but the Lady was inſenſible; he huffed and bounc'd, but was ridicul'd to ſcorn. He thought he had her in his Power, becauſe the Cardinal, to whom he had declar'd his Rage, againſt her, had given him her Letters, as above-mentioned, which were writ to Monſieur *Montmorenci*, and therefore, in his Menaces, he let fall ſome Hints with relation to thoſe Letters, to the Diſadvantage of Madame *de Guimene*, who thereupon ridicul'd him no longer, but was almoſt raving Mad, and fell into ſuch an inconceivable Melancholy, that you would not know her, and retired to *Couperai*, where ſhe would let no Body ſee her. . . . . .

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AS ſoon as I apply'd my Mind to Study, I reſolv'd at the ſame time to take the Cardinal *de Richelieu* for my Pattern, tho' my Friends oppos'd it, as too pedantick; but I followed my firſt Deſigns, and began my Courſe with good Succeſs. I was afterwards followed by all Perſons of Quality, of the ſame Profeſſion; but as I was the firſt, the Cardinal was pleas'd with my Fancy, which, together

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gether with the good Offices done me by the Grand Master with the Cardinal, made him speak well of me on several Occasions, wonder that I had never made my Court to him, and at the same time he order'd Monsieur *de Lingendes*, since Bishop of *Macon*, to bring me to his House.

This was the Source of my first Disgrace; for instead of complying with these Offers of the Cardinal, and with the Instances of the Grand Master, urging me to go and make my Court to him, I return'd the most trifling Excuses and Apologies; one time I pretended to be Sick, and went into the Country. In short, I did enough to let them see that I did not care to be a Dependent on the Cardinal *Richelieu*, who was certainly a very great Man, but had this particular Turn in his Genius, *viz.* to take notice of Trifles. Of this, he gave me the following Instance: The History of the Conspiracy of *John Lewis de Fiesque*, * which I had writ at 18 Years of Age, being convey'd by *Boisrobert* into the Cardinal's Hands, he was heard to say, in the Presence of Mareschal *d' Estrees*, and *Senneterre*, This is a dangerous Genius. This was told my Father that very Night, by Monsieur *de Senneterre*, and I took it as spoken to my self.

The Success that I had in the Acts of the *Sorbonne*, made me fond of that sort of Reputation, which I had a Mind to push farther, and thought I might succeed in Sermons. Instead of Preaching first, as I was advised, in the little Convents, I preached on *Ascension*, *Corpus Christi* Day, *&c.* before the Queen, and the whole Court. Which Assurance gain'd me a pretty Character from the Cardinal; for when he was told how well I had per-

* *Author of the Conspiracy of* Genoa, *was drown'd the* 1st *of* January, 1557.

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perform'd, he ſaid, There was no judging of Things by the Event, the Man is a Coxcomb. Thus you ſee I had enough to do for one of two and Twenty Years of Age. . . . . .

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MONSIEUR * *le Count*, who had a tender Love for me, and to whoſe Service and Perſon I was entirely devoted, left *Paris* in the Night, in order to get into *Sedan*, for fear of an Arreſt; and in the mean time entruſted me with the Care of *Vanbrock*, the greateſt Confident he had in the World. I took Care, as I was ordered, that he ſhould never ſtir out but at Night, for in the Day time I conceal'd him in a private Place, between the Cieling and the Penthouſe, where I thought it impoſſible for any thing but a Cat or the Devil to find him. But he was not careful enough of himſelf; for one Morning my Door was burſt open, and arm'd Men ruſh'd into my Chamber, with the Provoſt at their Head, who cry'd with a great Oath, Where is *Vanbrock*? I reply'd, at *Sedan*, Sir, I believe; he ſwore again moſt confoundedly, and ſearched the Mattreſſes of all the Beds in the Houſe, threatning to put my Domeſticks to the Rack, if they did not make a Diſcovery, but there was only one that knew any thing of the Matter, and ſo they went away in a Rage. You may eaſily imagine that when this was reported, the Court would highly reſent it. And ſo it happen'd, for the Licenſe of the *Sorbonne* being expir'd, and the Competitors ſtriving for the beſt Places, I had the Ambition to put in for the firſt Place, and did not think my ſelf oblig'd to yield to Abbot *de la Mothe Houdancourt*, now Archbiſhop of *Auch*, over whom, I had

* Lewis *of* Bourbon, *Count of* Soiſſons, kill'd in the Battle of Marſee, *near* Sedan, 1641.

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had certainly some Advantage in the Disputations. I carried my self in this Affair wiser than could be expected from my Youth; for as soon as I heard that my Rival was supported by the Cardinal, who did him the Honour to own him for his Kinsman, I sent the Cardinal Word by Monsieur *de Raconis*, Bishop of *Lavaur*, that I desisted from my Pretension, out of the Respect I ow'd his Eminency, as soon as I heard that he concern'd himself in the Affair. The Bishop of *Lavaur* told me, that the Cardinal pretended the Abbot *de la Mothe* would not be oblig'd for the first Place to my Cession, but to his own Merit. This Answer exasperated me, I gave a Smile, and a low Bow, pursued my Point, and gain'd the first Place by 84 Voices. The Cardinal, who was for Domineering in all Places, and in all Affairs, fell into a Passion much below his Character, either as a Minister, or a Man, threatned the Deputies of the *Sorbonne*, to raze the new Buildings he had begun there, and treated my Character again with incredible Bitterness.

All my Friends were alarm'd at this, and were for sending me in all haste to *Italy*. Accordingly I went to *Venice*, staid there till the middle of *August*, and had like to have been Assassinated; for I amus'd my self by making an Intrigue with *Signora Vendramina*, a noble *Venetian* Lady, and one of the Handsomest I ever saw. Monsieur *de Maille*, the King's Ambassador, aware of the dangerous Consequences of such Adventures in this Country, order'd me to depart from *Venice*; upon which I went through *Lombardy*, and towards the End of *September* arriv'd at *Rome*, where the Mareschal *d' Estrees*, who resided there as Embassador, gave me such Instructions for my Behaviour, as I follow'd to a Tittle. Though I had no Design to be an Ecclesiastick, yet since I wore a Cassock, I was resolved to acquire some Reputation at the Pope's Court. I compassed my Design very happily, avoiding any Appearance

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ance of Gallantry and Lewdneſs, and my Dreſs being grave to the laſt Degree; but for all this, I was at a vaſt Expence, having fine Liveries, a very ſplendid Equipage, and a Train of ſeven or eight Gentlemen, whereof four were Knights of *Malta*. I diſputed in the Colleges of *Sapienza*, (not to be compar'd for Learning with thoſe of the *Sorbonne*,) and Fortune continued ſtill to raiſe me. For the Prince *de Schomberg*, the Emperor's Ambaſſador, ſent me Word one Day, while I was playing at Balon at the Baths of *Antoninus*, to leave the Place clear for him. I anſwer'd, that I could have refuſed his Excellency nothing ask'd in a civil Manner; but ſince it was commanded, I would have him to know, that I would obey the Orders of no Ambaſſador whatſoever, but that of the King my Maſter. Being urged a ſecond time by one of his Attendants, to leave the Place, I ſtood upon my own Defence, and the *Germans*, more, in my Opinion, out of contempt of the few People I had with me, than out of any other Conſideration, let the Affair drop. This bold Carriage of ſo modeſt an Abbot to an Ambaſſador, who never went abroad without 100 Muſqueteers on Horſeback to attend him, made a great Noiſe in *Rome*, and was much taken notice of by Cardinal *Mazarine*.

The Cardinal *de Richelieu*'s Health declining, the Archbiſhoprick of *Paris* was now almoſt within my Ken, which, together with other Proſpects of good Benefices, made me reſolve not to fling off the Caſſock but upon honourable Terms, and valuable Conſiderations; but having nothing yet within my View, that I could be ſure of, I reſolved to diſtinguiſh my ſelf in my own Profeſſion by all the Methods I could. I retired from the World, ſtudied very hard, ſaw but very few Men, and

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and had no more Correſpondence with any of the Female Sex, except Madame *de* * *Guimene*. . . . . .

The Devil had appeared to the Princeſs *de Guimene*, juſt a Fortnight before this Adventure happen'd, and was often raiſed by the Conjurations of Monſieur *d' Andilly*, † to frighten his Votary, I believe, into Piety, for he was even more in Love with her Perſon, than I my ſelf, but he lov'd her in the Lord, purely and ſpiritually. I rais'd in my turn, a *Demon* that appear'd to her in a more kind and agreeable Form. In ſix Weeks I got her away from *Port-Royal*; I was very diligent in paying her my Reſpects, and the Satisfaction I had in her Company, with ſome other agreeable Diverſions, qualify'd in a great Meaſure the Chagrin which attended my Profeſſion, to which I was not yet heartily reconciled. This Enchantment had like to have raiſed ſuch a Storm, as would have given a new Face to the Affairs of *Europe*, if Fortune had been never ſo little on my Side.

Monſieur the Cardinal of *Richelieu* loved rallying other People, but could not bear a Jeſt himſelf; and all Men of this Humour, are always very crabbed and churliſh; of which the Cardinal gave an inſtance in a publick Aſſembly of Ladies, to Madame *de Guimene*, when he threw out a ſevere Jeſt, which every Body obſerved was pointed at me. She was ſenſibly affronted, but I was enrag'd. For at laſt there was a ſort of an Underſtanding between us, which tho' often ill managed, yet our Intereſts were inſeparable. At this

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* *Princeſs* de Guimene, *was* Ann *of* Rohan, *Daughter to* Peter de Rohan, *Prince of* Guimene, *and of* Magdalen de Rieux *of* Chateauneuf.

† Robert Arnold, *Lord of* Andilly, *born* 1589. *famous for his Writings, and for his Retreat to the Abby of* Port-Royal des Champs, *he died* 1674.

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this time * Madame *de la Meilleraye, with whom, though she was silly, I was fallen in Love*, pleased the Cardinal to that degree, that the Mareschal perceiv'd it before he set out for the Army, and rally'd his Wife in such a manner, that she immediately found he was even more Jealous than Ambitious. She was terribly afraid of him, and did not love the Cardinal, who, by marrying her to his Cousin, had lessened his own Family, of which he was extremely fond. Besides, the Cardinal's Infirmities made him look a great deal older than he was. And though all his other Actions had no Tincture of Pedantry, yet in his Amorous Intrigues, he had the most of it in the World. I had a Detail of all the Steps he had made therein, which were extremely ridiculous. But continuing his Sollicitation, and carrying her to his Country Seat † at *Ruel*, where he kept her a considerable Time, I guess'd that the Lady had not Brains enough to resist the Splendor of Court Favour, and that her Husband's Jealousie would soon give way to his Interest, but above all, to his Blind-side, which was an Attachment to the Court, not to be equall'd. When I was in the hottest Pursuit of this Passion, I propos'd to my self the most exquisite Pleasures in triumphing over the Cardinal *Richelieu* in this fair Field of Battle; but on a sudden I had the Mortification to hear the whole Family was changed. The Husband allow'd his Wife to go to *Ruel* as often as she pleas'd, and her Behaviour towards me I suspected to be false and treacherous. In short, Madame *de Guimene*'s Anger, for a Reason I hinted be-

* *She was* Mary de Cosse, *Daughter to* Francis de Cosse, *Duke of* Briss. c.

† *The Cardinal* Richelieu's *Seat, three Leagues from* Paris.

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before, my Jealouſie of Madame *de Meilleraye*, and Averſion to my own Profeſſion, all join'd together in a fatal Moment, and had like to have produced one of the greateſt and moſt famous Events of our Age.

* *La Rochepot*, my firſt Couſin, and dear Friend, was a Domeſtick of the late Duke of *Orleans*, † and his great Confident. He mortally hated the Cardinal *de Richelieu*, who had perſecuted his Mother, and had her hung up in Effigie, and kept his Father ſtill a Priſoner in the *Baſtille*, and now refuſed the Son a Regiment, tho' Mareſchal *de Meilleraye*, who very highly eſteemed him for his Courage, interceded for the Favour. You may imagine that when we came together, we did not forget the Cardinal.

I being, as I told you, croſs'd in my Deſigns, and as full of Reſentment as *Rochepot* was for the Affronts put upon his Perſon and Family, we chimed in our Thoughts and Reſolutions, which were, dextrouſly to manage the Weakneſs of the Duke of *Orleans*, and to put that in Execution which the Boldneſs of his Domeſticks had almoſt effected at *Corbie*.

The Duke of *Orleans* was appointed General, and the Count *de Soiſſons* Lieutenant General of the King's Forces in *Picardy*, but neither of them ſtood well with the Cardinal, who only gave them thoſe Poſts, becauſe the then Poſture of Affairs was ſuch that he could not help it.

L' Epinai, *Montreſor*, and *la Rochepot* made uſe of all the Arguments they could think of to raiſe Jealouſies and Fears in the Duke of *Orleans*, and to inſpire him with Reſolution and Courage to rid

* *Son to* Anthony de Silly, *Count of* Rochepot.

† Gaſton John Baptiſte *of* France, *born* 1608, *and died at* Blois, 1660.

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rid himself of the Cardinal. Others laboured to perswade the Count *de Soissons* to relish the same Proposal, and 'twas resolv'd upon, but never put in Execution. For they had the Cardinal in their Power at *Amiens*, but did him no harm. For this every one blamed his Companion; but I could never yet learn the true Cause, only this is certain, that they were no sooner come to *Paris*, than they were all seiz'd with a Pannic, and retir'd some one Way, some another.

The Count of *Guiche*, * now Mareschal *de Grammont*, and Monsieur *de Chavigni* † Secretary of State, and the Cardinal's most intimate Favourite, were sent by the King to *Blois*. Here they frighted the Duke of *Orleans*, and made him return to *Paris*, where he was afraid more than ever; for such of his Domesticks as were not gained by the Court, made use of his pusillanimous Temper, and represented to him the Necessity he was under to provide for his own, or rather, their Security. *Rochepot* and my self, endeavoured to heighten his Fears as much as possible, in order to *precipitate* him into our Measures. The Term sounds odd, but it is the most expressive I could find of a Character like the Duke's. He weigh'd every thing, but fix'd on nothing; and if by chance he was inclin'd to one thing more than another, he would never execute it, without being push'd or forc'd into it.

Rochepot did all he could to fix him, but finding that the Duke was always for Delays, and for perplexing all Expedients with groundless Fears of invincible Difficulties; he fell upon an

* Anthony de Grammont, *the third of that Name, born* 1604, *died* 1678.

† Leon Bouthilier, *the Son of* Claude Bouthilier *and* Mary de Bragelonne, *died* 1652, *as well as his Father.*

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Expedient very dangerous to all appearance, but as it uſually happens in extraordinary Caſes, much leſs ſo at firſt View.

Cardinal *de Richelieu* being to ſtand Godfather at the Baptiſm of * Mademoiſelle, *Rochepot*'s Propoſal was to continue to ſhew the Duke the Neceſſity he lay under ſtill to get rid of the Cardinal; without ſaying much of the Particulars, for fear of hazarding the Secret; but only to entertain him with the general Propoſal of that Affair, thereby to make him the better in Love with the Meaſures when propoſed, and that they might, at a proper Time and Place, tell him they had conceal'd the Detail of the Execution from his Highneſs upon no other Account, but that they had experienced, on ſeveral Occaſions, that there was no other Way of ſerving his Highneſs, as he himſelf had told *Rochepot* ſeveral times; that nothing therefore remained, but to get ſome Brave Fellows fit for ſuch a reſolute Enterprize, and to lay Poſt-Horſes ready upon the Road to *Sedan*, under ſome other pretext, and ſo to execute the Deſign in the Preſence, and in the Name of his Royal Highneſs upon the Day of the intended Solemnity, and that his Highneſs ſhould chearfully own it when it was done, and that then we would carry him off by thoſe Horſes to *Sedan*. Mean while the Diſtraction of the inferior Miniſters, and the Joy of the King to ſee himſelf delivered from a Tyrant, would diſpoſe the Court rather to invite, than to purſue him. This was *Rochepot*'s Scheme, and it ſeem'd exceeding plauſible.

I

* Anne Mary Louiſe d' Orleans, *Daughter of* Gaſton John Baptiſt *of* France, *and of* Mary *of* Bourbon *Dutcheſs of* Montpenſier, *born* 1627, *and died* 1693.

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I and *la Rochepot* had, it may be, blamed the Inactivity of the Duke of *Orleans*, and of the Count of *Soiſſons*, in the Affair of *Amiens*, a hundred times; yet no ſooner was the Scheme come to maturity enough for that Execution, the Idea *whereof* I had rais'd in the Memory of *Rochepot*, but my Mind was ſeiz'd with I know not what fear; I took it then for a Scruple of Conſcience, I can't tell whether 'twas in Truth ſo or not; but in ſhort, the Thought of Killing a Prieſt and a Cardinal deeply affected my Mind. *Rochepot* laugh'd at my Scruples, and banter'd me thus: *When you are in the Field of Battle, I warrant you'll not beat up the Enemies Quarters, for fear of Aſſaſſinating Men in their ſleep.* I was aſhamed of my Scruples, and again hugg'd the Crime, which I looked upon as ſanctified by the Examples of great Men, and juſtified and honoured by the mighty Danger that attended its Execution. We renewed our Conſultations, engag'd ſome Accomplices, took all the neceſſary Precautions, and reſolv'd upon the Execution. The Danger indeed was very great, but we might reaſonably hope to come off well enough; for the Duke's Guard which was within, would not have failed to come to our Aſſiſtance againſt that of the Cardinal's, which was without. But his Fortune, and not his Guards, delivered him from the Snare; for either Mademoiſelle, or himſelf, I forget which, fell ſuddenly ill, and the Ceremony was put off to another time, ſo that we loſt our Opportunity. The Duke returned to *Blois*, and the Marquiſs *de Boiſſi* proteſted he would never diſcover us, but that he would be no longer concerned, becauſe he had juſt received ſome Favour or other from the Cardinal's own Hands.

I confeſs, that this Enterprize, which had it ſucceeded, would have crown'd us with Glory, never fully pleas'd me. I was not ſo ſcrupulous

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in the Committing of two other Tranſgreſſions againſt the Rules of Morality, as you may have before obſerved; but I wiſh with all my Heart I had never been concerned in this. Ancient *Rome* indeed would have counted it Honourable, but it is not in this Reſpect that I honour the Memory of old *Rome*.

There is commonly a great deal of Folly in Conſpiracies, but afterwards there's nothing tends ſo much to make Men wiſe, at leaſt for ſome time. For as the Danger in Things of this Nature continues even after the Opportunities for doing them are over, Men are from that Inſtant more prudent and circumſpect.

Having thus miſs'd our Blow, the Count *de Rochepot*, and the reſt of them, retired to their ſeveral Seats in the Country, but my Engagements detained me at *Paris*, where I was ſo retired, that I ſpent all my Time in my Study; and if ever I was ſeen abroad, 'twas with all the Reſervedneſs of a pious Eccleſiaſtick. We were all ſo true to one another in keeping this Adventure ſecret, that it never took the leaſt Wind while the Cardinal lived, who was a Miniſter that had the beſt Intelligence in the World; but after his Death, it was diſcovered by the Imprudence of *Fret* and *Etourville*, I call it Imprudence, for what greater Weakneſs can Men be guilty of, than to declare themſelves to have been capable of what is dangerous in the firſt Inſtance.

To return to the Hiſtory of the Count *de Soiſſons*, I obſerv'd before, that he was retired to *Sedan*, for his ſafety, which he could not expect at Court. He writ to the King, aſſuring his Majeſty of his Fidelity, and that while he ſtaid in that Place, he would undertake nothing prejudicial to his Service. He was very punctual to his Promiſe, was not to be byaſſed by all the

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the Offers of *Spain*, or the Empire, but rejected with Indignation the Overtures of St. *Ibal* and of *Bardouville*, who would have perſuaded him to take up Arms. *Campion*, one of his Domeſticks, whom he had left at *Paris* to mind his Affairs at Court, told me theſe Particulars by the Count's expreſs Orders, and I ſtill remember this Paſſage in one of his Letters to *Campion*. *The Men you know, are very urgent with me to treat with the Enemies, and accuſe me of Weakneſs, becauſe I fear the Examples of* Charles *of* Bourbon, *and* Robert *of* Artois. He was ordered to ſhew me this Letter, and deſire my Opinion thereupon. I took my Pen, and at a little Diſtance from the Anſwer he had already began, I writ theſe Words, *And I do accuſe them of Folly*. The Reaſons upon which my Opinion was grounded, were theſe. The Count was couragious in the higheſt Degree of what is commonly called Valour, and had a more than ordinary ſhare in that boldneſs of Mind, which we call Reſolution. The firſt is common, and to be met with frequently among the Vulgar; but the ſecond is more rare than can be imagined, and yet abundantly more neceſſary for great Enterprizes; and is there a greater in the World than Heading a Party? The Command of an Army, is without Compariſon of leſs Intricacy; for there are Wheels within Wheels, neceſſary for Governing the State, but then they are not near ſo brittle and delicate. In a Word, I am of Opinion, there are greater Qualities neceſſary to make a good Head of a Party, than to make an Emperor, who is to govern the whole World; and that Reſolution ought to run parallel with Judgment, I ſay, with heroick Judgment, which is able to diſcern the *Extraordinary* from what we call *Impoſſible*.

The Count had not one Grain of this diſcerning Faculty, which is but ſeldom to be met with

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in the ſublimeſt Genius. His was but in a mean Degree, and conſequently ſuſceptible of unreaſonable Jealouſies and Diſtruſts, which, of all Characters, is the moſt oppoſite to that of a good Partiſan, who is indiſpenſably oblig'd, in many Caſes, to ſuppreſs, and in all to conceal, the beſt grounded Suſpicions.

This was the Reaſon I could not be of their Opinion, who were for Engaging the Count in a Civil War; and *Varicovelle*, who was a Man of the beſt Senſe and Temper, of all the Perſons of Quality he had about him, told me ſince, that when he ſaw what I writ in *Campion*'s Letter the Day I ſet out for *Italy*, he very well knew by what Motives, I was, againſt my Inclination, perſwaded into this Opinion.

The Count held out all this Year and the next, againſt all the Sollicitations of the *Spaniards*, and the Importunities of his own Friends, much more by the wiſe Counſels of *Varicovelle*, than by the Force of his own Reſolution; but nothing could ſecure him from the Teazings of the Cardinal de *Richelieu*, who dinn'd him every Day, in the King's Name, with many diſmal Diſcoveries and Prognoſtications. For fear of being tedious, I ſhall only tell you in one Word, that the Cardinal, contrary to his own Intereſt, hurry'd the Count into a Civil War, by ſuch Arts of Chicanery, as thoſe who are Fortune's Favourites never fail to play upon the Unfortunate. The Minds of People began now to be more embitter'd than ever. I was ſent for by the Count to *Sedan*, to tell him the State of *Paris*. The Account I gave him, could not but be very agreeable. For I told him the very Truth, that he was univerſally belov'd, honour'd, and ador'd in that City, and his Enemy dreaded and abhorr'd. The Duke *de Bouillon*, who was entirely for a War, be the Conſequence what it would, refined upon

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theſe Advantages, and made them look more plauſible, but *Varicovelle* vigorouſly oppoſed him.

I thought my ſelf too young to declare my Opinion, but being oblig'd to it by his Highneſs, I took the Liberty to tell him, that a Prince of the Blood ought to engage himſelf in a Civil War, rather than ſuffer any Diminution of his Reputation or Dignity, and that nothing but theſe two Caſes could juſtly oblige him to it; becauſe he hazards both by a Commotion, whenever the one or the other Conſideration does not make it neceſſary; that I thought his Highneſs far from being under any ſuch Neceſſity, that his retreat to *Sedan* ſecured him from the Indignity he muſt have ſubmitted to, among others, of taking the Left-hand, even in the Cardinal's own Houſe. That in the mean time, the Popular Hatred of the Cardinal, gains his Highneſs the greater Share of the publick Favour, which is always much better ſecured by Inaction than Action; becauſe the Glory of Action depends upon Succeſs, for which no one can anſwer; whereas Inaction is ſure to be commended, as being founded upon the Hatred which the Publick will always bear to that Miniſter. That therefore I ſhould think it would be more glorious for his Highneſs, in the View of the World, to ſupport himſelf by his own Weight, *viz.* by the Merit of his Virtue, againſt the Artifice of ſo Powerful a Miniſter as the Cardinal *de Richelieu*, I ſay, more Glorious to ſupport himſelf by a wiſe and regular Conduct, than to kindle the Fire of War, the flagrant Conſequences whereof no Man is able to foreſee. That it was true, that Miniſter was univerſally curſed, but that I could not yet ſee that the Peoples Minds were exaſperated enough for any conſiderable Revolution. That the Cardinal was in a declining State of Health, and if he ſhould not die this time, his Highneſs would have the Opportunity of ſhewing the King and the Public, that tho' by his own Perſonal Authority,

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and his important Poſt of *Sedan*, he was in a Capacity to do himſelf Juſtice, he ſacrificed his own Reſentments to the Welfare and Quiet of the State; and that if the Cardinal ſhould recover his Health, he would not fail, by additional Acts of Tyranny and Oppreſſion, to draw upon himſelf the redoubled Execrations of the People, which would ripen their Murmurings and Diſcontents into an univerſal Revolution.

This is the Subſtance of what I ſaid to the Count, and he ſeemed to be ſomething affected by it. But the Duke de *Bouillon* was enrag'd, and told me by way of Banter, *Your Blood is very cold for a Gentleman of your Age.* To which I reply'd in theſe very Words, "All the Count's Servants are ſo much "oblig'd to you, Sir, that they ought to bear e-"very thing from you; but were it not for "this Conſideration alone, I ſhould think that "your Baſtions would not be always ſtrong e-"nough to protect you. The Duke ſoon came to himſelf, and treated me with all the Civilities imaginable, ſuch as laid a Foundation for our future Friendſhip. I ſtaid two Days longer at *Sedan*, during which, the Count changed his Mind five different times, as I was told by Monſieur St. *Ibal*, who ſaid little was to be expected from a Man of his Humour. At laſt, however, the Duke *de Bouillon* fixt him. I was charged to do all I could to bring over the People of *Paris*, had an Order to take up Money, and to lay it out for this Purpoſe, and I returned from *Sedan* with Letters, more than enough to have hang'd two hundred Men.

As I had faithfully ſet the Count's true Intereſt before him, and diſſuaded him from undertaking an Affair of which he was no ways capable, I thought it high time to think of my own Affairs. I hated my Profeſſion now more than ever, I was at firſt hurry'd into it by the Infatuation

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tuation of my Kindred. My Deſtiny had bound me down to it by all the Chains both of Duty and Pleaſure, ſo that I could ſee no poſſibility to ſet my ſelf free. I was Twenty five Years of Age and upwards, and I ſaw 'twas now too late to begin to carry a Musket; but that which tortur'd me moſt of all, was this killing Reflection, *viz.* that I had ſpent ſo much of my time in too eager a Purſuit of Pleaſure, and thereby rivetted my own Chains; ſo that it look'd as if my Fate was reſolved to faſten me to the Church, whether I would or no. You may imagine with what Satisfaction ſuch Thoughts as theſe were accompanied, for this Confuſion of Affairs gave me hopes of getting looſe from my Profeſſion with uncommon Honour and Reputation. I thought of Ways how to diſtinguiſh my ſelf, purſued them very diligently, and you'll allow that nothing but Deſtiny broke my Meaſures.

The Mareſchals * *de Vitri*, and † *Baſſompiere*, the Count *de Cramail*, Monſieur *du Fargis*, and *du Coudrai Montpenſier*, were then Priſoners in the *Baſtile* upon different Accounts. But as length of Time makes Confinement leſs irkſome, they were treated very civilly, and indulged with a great ſhare of Freedom. Their Friends came to ſee them, and ſometimes dined with them. By means of Monſieur *du Fargis*, who had married my Aunt, I got acquainted with the reſt, and by converſing with them, diſcovered very remarkable Emotions in ſome of them, upon which I could not help reflecting. The Mareſchal *de Vitri* was a Gentleman of mean Parts, but bold, even to raſhneſs, and his

* Nicholas de l' Hopital, *Duke of* Vitri, *died the* 28th *of* September, 1644.

† Francis de Baſſompiere, *born* 1579, *died* 1646.

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his having been formerly employ'd to kill the Mareſchal *d' Ancre*, had given him in the common Vogue, tho' I think unjuſtly, the Air of a Man of Buſineſs and Expedition. He appear'd to me enrag'd againſt the Cardinal, and I concluded he might do Service in the preſent Juncture; but did not addreſs my ſelf directly to him, and thought it the wiſeſt Way firſt to ſift the Count *de Cremail*, who was a Man of ſound Senſe, and could influence the Mareſchal *de Vitri* as he pleaſed. He apprehended me at half a Word, and immediately ask'd me, if I had diſcover'd my ſelf to any of the Priſoners; I anſwer'd readily, no, Sir, and I'll tell you my Reaſons in a very few Words. Baſſompiere *is a Tatler, I expect to do nothing with the Mareſchal* de Vitri *but by your means. I ſuſpect the Honeſty of* Caudrai, *and as for my Uncle* du Fargis, *he is a gallant Man, but has no Head-piece.* Who then do you confide in at *Paris*, ſays the Count *de Cremail*? I dare truſt no Man living, ſaid I, but your ſelf. 'Tis very well, ſaid he briskly, you are the Man for me, I am above 80 Years old, and you but 25, I'll qualify your Heat, and you my Chilneſs. We went upon Buſineſs, drew up our Plan, and at parting, he ſaid theſe very Words, "Let me alone one Week, and after "that I will tell you more of my Mind, for I "hope to convince the Cardinal, that I am good "for ſomething more than Writing the *Jeu de "l' inconnu*, (the Game of the Man unknown.) You muſt know, that the *Jeu de l' inconnu*, was a Book, indeed very ill writ, which the Count *de Cremail* had formerly publiſhed, and which the Cardinal had groſly ridicul'd. You'll be ſurpriz'd, without doubt, that I ſhould think of Priſoners for an Affair of this Importance; but the Nature of it was ſuch, that it could not

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be put into better Hands, as you will ſee by and by.

A Week after, going to viſit the Priſoners, and *Cremail* and my ſelf being accidentally left alone, we took a Walk upon the Terraſs, where, after a Thouſand Thanks for the Confidence I had put in him, and as many Proteſtations of his readineſs to ſerve the Count *de Soiſſons*, he ſpoke thus: "There is nothing but the Thruſt of a Sword, "or the City of *Paris*, that can rid us of the "Cardinal: Had I been at the Enterprize of *Amiens*, I think I ſhould not have miſs'd my Blow, as "thoſe Gentlemen did. I am for that of *Paris*; it "cannot miſcarry, I have conſider'd it well. See "here what Additions I have made to our Plan. And thereupon he put into my Hand a Paper, in Subſtance as follows: "That he had conferr'd "with the Mareſchal *de Vitri*, who was as well "diſpoſed as any Body in the World, to ſerve "the Count; that they would both anſwer for the "Baſtile, where all the Garriſon was in their Intereſt; that they were likewiſe ſure of the Arſenal; and that they would alſo declare themſelves, as ſoon as the Count had got a Battle, on "Condition that I made it appear beforehand, as I "had told him, (the Count *de Cremail*,) that "they ſhould be ſupported by a conſiderable "Number of Officers, Colonels of *Paris*, &c. For the reſt, this Paper contain'd many particular Obſervations on the Conduct of the Undertaking, and many Cautions relating to the Behaviour to be obſerved by the Count. That which ſurpriz'd me moſt of all was, to ſee how fully perſwaded theſe Gentlemen were of carrying their Point with eaſe.

Tho' it came into my Head to propoſe this Project to the Perſons in the Baſtile, yet nothing but the perfect Knowledge I had of their Diſpoſition and Inclination, could have perſwaded me

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me that it was practicable. And I confeſs, upon peruſal of the Plan prepared by Monſieur *de Cremail*, a Man of great Experience, and excellent Senſe, I was aſtoniſhed to find a few Priſoners diſpoſing of the *Baſtile*, with the ſame freedom, as the Governour of greateſt Authority in the Place.

As all extraordinary Circumſtances are of wonderful Weight in popular Revolutions, I conſider'd that this Project, which was e'en ripe for Execution, would have an admirable Effect in the City. And as nothing animates and ſupports Commotions more, than the Ridiculing of thoſe againſt whom they are rais'd, I knew it would be very eaſie for us to expoſe the Conduct of a Miniſter, who had tamely ſuffer'd Priſoners to hamper him, as one may ſay, with their Chains. I loſt no time; afterwards I open'd my ſelf to Monſieur *d' Eſtampes*, Preſident of the great Council, and to Monſieur *L' Ecuyer*, Dean of the Chamber of Accounts, both Colonels, and in great Repute among the Citizens, and I found them every way anſwering the Character I had of them from the Count, *viz.* very zealous for his Intereſt, and fully perſuaded that the Inſurrection was not only practicable, but very eaſie. Pray obſerve, that theſe two Gentlemen, who made no great Figure, even in their own Profeſſion, were perhaps two of the moſt peaceable Perſons in the Kingdom. But there are ſome Fires which burn all before 'em. The main Thing is, to know and nick the critical Moment.

The Count had charged me to diſcloſe my ſelf to none in *Paris* beſides theſe two; but I ventur'd to add two more, *viz.* *Parmentier*, Subſtitute to the Attorney General, and his Brother in Law *Epinai*, Auditor of the Chamber of Accounts, who was the Man of the greateſt Credit, tho'

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tho' but a Lieutenant, and the other a Captain. *Parmentier*, who, both by his Wit and Courage, was as capable of a great Action as any Man I ever knew, promiſed me that he would engage for *Brigalier*, Counſellor in the Court of Aides, Captain in his Quarter, and very Powerful among the People, but told me at the ſame time, that he muſt not know a Word of the Matter, becauſe he was a mere Rattle, not to be truſted with a Secret.

The Count made me a Remittance of 12000 Crowns, which I carried to my Aunt * *de Maignelai*, telling her, that it was a Reſtitution made by one of my dying Friends, who made me Truſtee of it, upon Condition that I ſhould diſtribute it among decay'd Families, who were aſham'd to make their Neceſſities known, and that I had taken an Oath to diſtribute it my ſelf, purſuant to the Deſire of the Teſtator; but that I was at a loſs to find out fit Objects for my Charity; and therefore I deſir'd her to take the Care of it upon her. The good Woman was perfectly tranſported, and ſaid ſhe would do it with all her Heart; but becauſe I had ſwore to make the Diſtribution my ſelf, ſhe inſiſted upon it, that I muſt be preſent, not only for my Promiſe ſake, but to accuſtom my ſelf to do Acts of Charity. This was the very Thing I aim'd at, *viz.* an Opportunity of knowing all the Poor of *Paris*. Therefore I ſuffer'd my ſelf to be carry'd every Day by my Aunt into the Out-parts, to viſit the Poor in the Garrets; and I met very often in her Houſe, People who were very well clad, and many whom I once knew, that came for private Charity. My good Aunt charged them

* Margaret Claude de Gondi, *Wife of* Florimond d'Halluin, *Marquiſs* de Maignelai, *died* 1650.

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them always to pray to God for her Nephew, who is the Hand that God has been pleas'd to make uſe of for this good Work. Judge you of the Influence this gave me over the Populace, who are without compariſon the moſt conſiderable in all publick Diſturbances. For the Rich never come into ſuch Meaſures, unleſs they are forced; and Beggars do more harm than good; becauſe 'tis known they aim at Plunder; thoſe therefore who are capable of doing moſt Service, are ſuch as are not reduced to common Beggary, yet ſo ſtreightned in their Circumſtances, as to wiſh for nothing more than a general Change of Affairs, in order to repair their broken Fortunes. I made my ſelf acquainted with People of this Rank for the Courſe of four Months, with an uncommon Application, ſo that there was hardly a Child in the Chimney Corner but I gratifi'd with ſome ſmall Token. I call'd them by their familiar Names. My Aunt, who always made it her Buſineſs to go from Houſe to Houſe to relieve the Poor, was a Cloak for all. I alſo plaid the Hypocrite, and frequented the Conferences of St. *Lazarus*.

Varicarville, and *Beauregarde*, my Correſpondents at *Sedan*, aſſured me, that the Count *de Soiſſons* was as well inclined as one could wiſh, and that he had not waver'd ſince he had form'd his laſt Reſolution. *Varicarville* ſaid, that we had formerly done him horrible Injuſtice, and that they were now even obliged to reſtrain him, becauſe he ſeem'd to be too fond of the Councils of *Spain* and the *Empire*. Pleaſe to obſerve, that theſe two Courts, which had made incredible Sollicitations to him while he waver'd, began, as ſoon as they ſaw he was fix'd, to draw back, by a fatality, which the Phlegmatic Temper of the *Spaniard*, inſeparably joins by the Name of Prudence, to the Politicks of the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

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You may obſerve at the ſame time, the Count, who had continued fixt and unſhaken three Months together, changed his Mind as ſoon as his Enemies had granted what he ask'd; which exactly comes up to the Character of an irreſolute Man; who is always moſt unſteddy, the nearer the Work comes to its Concluſion. I heard of this Convulſion, as one may call it, by an Expreſs from *Varicarville*, took Poſt the ſame Night for *Sedan*, and arrived there an Hour after *Aretonville*, a Manager diſpatch'd from the Count's Brother in Law, Monſieur * *de Longueville*. He came with ſome plauſible but deceitful Terms of Accommodation, which we all agreed to oppoſe. Thoſe who had been always with the Count, preſs'd him ſtrongly with the Remembrance of what he himſelf thought or ſaid was neceſſary to be done, ever ſince the War had been reſolv'd on. St. *Ibal*, who had been negociating for him at *Bruſſels*, preſs'd him with his Engagements, Advances, and Sollicitations, inſiſted on the Steps I had, by his Order, already taken in *Paris*, on the Promiſes made to *de Vitri* and *Cremail* and on the Secret committed to two Perſons by his own Command, and to four others for his Service, and with his Conſent. Our Arguments, conſidering his Engagements, were very juſt and clear. We carried our Point with much ado, after a Conflict for four Days. *Aretonville* was ſent back with a very ſmart Anſwer. Monſieur *de Guiſe*, who had join'd the Count, and was a Welwiſher to a Rupture, went to *Liege*, to order the Levies; *Varicarville* and I returned to *Paris*, but did not care to tell my fellow Conſpirators of the Irreſolution of our Prin-

* Henry of Orleans, *the ſecond of that Name, died* 1663.

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Principal. Some Symptoms of it appear'd afterwards, but they ſoon vaniſhed.

Being aſſured that the *Spaniards* had every thing in a readineſs, I went for the laſt time to *Sedan*, to take my final Inſtructions. There I found *Meternic*, Colonel of one of the oldeſt Regiments of the *Empire*, diſpatch'd by the General *Lamboy*, who was advanc'd with a Gallant Army under his Command, compos'd for the moſt Part of Veteran Troops. The Colonel aſſured the Count, that he was order'd to obey his Commands in every thing, and to give Battle to the Mareſchal * *de Chatillon*, who Commanded the Army of *France* upon the *Meuſe*. As the Undertaking at *Paris* had an entire Dependance on the Succeſs of ſuch a Battle, the Count thought it fitting that I ſhould go along with *Meternic* to *Givet*, where I found the Army in a very good Condition. Then I return'd to *Paris*, and gave an Account of every Particular to the Mareſchal *de Vitri*, who drew up the Order for the Enterprize. The whole City of *Paris* ſeem'd ſo diſpoſed for an Inſurrection, that we thought our ſelves ſure of Succeſs. The Secret was kept, even to a Miracle. The Count gave the Enemy Battle, and won it. You now believe, without doubt, the Day was our own. Far from it, for the Count was kill'd in the very Criſis of the Victory, and in the midſt of his own Men; but how, and by whom, no Soul could ever tell.

You may gueſs what a Condition I was in when I heard this News; Monſieur *de Cremail*, the wiſeſt of us all, thought of nothing elſe now but how to conceal the Secret, which tho' known to only

* Gaſpar de Coligni, *the third of that Name, born* 1584, *died* 1646.

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only fix in all *Paris*, 'twas too great a Number; but the greateſt Danger of Diſcovery was from the People of *Sedan*, who being out of the Kingdom, were not afraid of Puniſhment. Nevertheleſs, every Body privy to it religiouſly kept it ſecret, and ſtood their Ground, which with another Accident I ſhall mention hereafter, has made me often think, and ſay it too, that Secrecy is not ſo rare a thing as we imagine, with Men ver'sd in Matters of State.

The Count's Death ſettled me in my Profeſſion, for I ſaw no great Things to be done; and I found my ſelf too old to leave it for any thing trifling. Beſides, Cardinal *Richelieu*'s Health was declining, and I already began to think my ſelf Archbiſhop of *Paris*. I reſolv'd that for the future I would likewiſe exerciſe my Profeſſion. Madame *de Guimene* was retir'd to *Port Royal*, her Country Seat. Monſieur *d' Andilly* had got her from me. She neither powder'd nor curl'd her Hair any longer, and had diſmiſs'd me ſolemnly with all the Formalities requir'd from a ſincere Penitent. I diſcover'd, by the Means of a Valet de Chambre, that ——— Captain of the Mareſchal's Guards, had as free Acceſs to *Meilleraye*'s Lady as my ſelf. See what 'tis to be a Saint! The Truth is, I grew much more regular, at leaſt, affected to be thought ſo, led a retir'd Life, ſtuck to my Profeſſion, ſtudied hard, and got acquainted with all that were famous either for Learning or Piety. I converted my Houſe almoſt into an Academy; but took care not to erect the Academy into a rigid Tribunal. I began to be pretty free with the Canons and Curates, whom I found of courſe at my Uncle's Houſe. I did not act the Devotee, becauſe I could not be ſure how long I ſhould be able to play the Counterfeit, but I had a high Eſteem for devout People, which with ſuch, is the main

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Article of Religion. I suited my Pleasures to my Practice, and finding I could not live without some Amorous Intrigue, I manag'd an Amour with Madame *de Pommereux*, a young Coquet, who had so many Sparks, not only in her House, but at her Devotion, that the apparent Business of others, was a cover for mine, which was, at least some time afterwards, more to the purpose. When I had succeeded: I was a Man in such Request among those of my Profession, that the Devotees themselves used to say of me, with Monsieur *Vincent*, *Tho' I had not Piety enough, yet I was not far from the Kingdom of Heaven.*

Fortune favour'd me more than usual on this Occasion. I was at the House of Madame *de Rambure*, a precious and learned Hugonot, where I met with *Mestrezat*, the famous Minister of *Charenton*. To satisfie her Curiosity, she engag'd us in a Dispute; we had nine different Conferences. The Mareschal *de la Force*, and Monsieur *de Turenne* * were present at some of them, and a Gentleman of *Poitou*, who was at all of them, became my Proselyte. As I was then but 26 Years of Age, this made a great deal of Noise, and, among other Effects, was productive of one that had not the least Connexion with its Cause, which I shall mention after I have done Justice to a Civility I received from my Antagonist in one of the Conferences. I had the Advantage of him in the fifth Conference, relating to spiritual Vocation; but in the sixth, treating of the Pope's Authority, I was gravell'd; because to avoid embroiling my self with the Court of *Rome*, I answer'd him on such Principles as are not so easie to be maintained, as those of the *Sorbonne*.

The

* Henry de la Tour d' Auvergne, born 1611, *and kill'd* 1675.

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The Minister perceived the Concern I was under, and generously forbore to urge such Passages as would have obliged me to explain my self in a Manner disagreeable to the Pope's Nuncio. I thought it extremely obliging, and as we were going out, thank'd him in the Presence of Monsieur *de Turenne*; to which he answer'd very civilly, *It had been a Piece of Injustice to hinder the Abbot* de Retz *from being made a Cardinal*. This was such Complaisance as you are not to expect from every *Geneva* Pedant. I told you before that this Conference produced one Effect very different from its Cause, and it is this, Madame *de* * *Vendome*, of whom you have heard, without doubt, took such a Fancy to me ever after, that a Mother could not have been more tender. She had been at the Conference too, tho' I am very well assured she understood nothing of the Matter; but the favourable Opinion she had of me was owing to the Bishop of *Lizieux*, her spiritual Director, who, finding I was dispos'd to follow my Profession, which, out of his great Love to me, he most passionately desir'd, made it his Business to magnifie the few good Qualities I was Master of; and I am throughly perswaded, that what Applause I had then in the World, was chiefly owing to his Encouragement, for there was not a Man in *France*, whose Approbation could give so much Honour. His Sermons had advanc'd him from a very mean and foreign Extraction (which was *Flemish*,) to the Episcopal Dignity, which he adorn'd with solid and unaffected Piety. His Disinterestedness was far beyond that of the Hermits or Anchorets. He had

* Frances de Lorrain, *Daughter to* Philip Emanuel *of* Lorrain, *Duke of* Mercœur, *and of* Mary *of* Luxemburgh, *died* 1669

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had the Courage of St. *Ambroſe*; and at Court, and in the Preſence of the King, he ſo maintain'd his uſual Freedom, that the Cardinal *de Richelieu*, (who had been his Scholar in Divinity) both reverenc'd and fear'd him. This good Man had that abundant Kindneſs for me, that he read me Lectures thrice a Week upon St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, and deſign'd to convert Monſieur *de Turenne*, and to give me the Honour of it.

Monſieur *de Turenne* had a great reſpect for him, whereof he gave him very diſtinguiſhing Marks. The Count *de* * *Brion*, whom, I believe, you may remember under the Title of Duke *d'Amville*, was deeply in Love with Mademoiſelle *de Vendome*, ſince Madame *de Nemours*; and beſides, he was a great Favourite of Monſieur *de Turenne*, who, to do him a Pleaſure, and to give him the more Opportunities to ſee Mademoiſelle *de Vendome*, affected to be a great Admirer of the Biſhop of *Lizieux*, and to hear his Exhortations with a world of Attention. The Count *de Brion*, who had been twice a Capuchin, and whoſe Life was a continual Medley of Sin and Devotion, pretended likewiſe to be much affected with Monſieur *de Turenne*'s Converſion, and was preſent at all the Conferences held at Mademoiſelle *de Vendome*'s Appartment. *Brion* had very little Wit, but was a clever Tongue-pad, and had a great deal of Aſſurance, which many times ſupplies the room of good Senſe: This, and the Behaviour of Monſieur *de Turenne*, together with the Indolence of Mademoiſelle *de Vendome*, made me think all was fair, ſo that I never ſuſpected an Amour at the Bottom. The Biſhop of *Lizieux* being a great Admirer of *Corneille*'s Writings, and making

* Francis Chriſtoſle de Levi, de Ventadour, *died* 1661.

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making no ſcruple to ſee a good Comedy, provided it was in the Country among a few Friends, the late Madame *de Choiſy* propoſed to entertain him with one at St. *Cloud*. Accordingly Madame took with her, Madame and Mademoiſelle *de Vendome*, M. *de Turenne*, M. *de Brion*, *Voiture*, and my ſelf; *Brion* took care of the Comedy and Violins, and I to have a good Collation. We went to the Archbiſhop's Houſe at St. *Cloud*, where the Comedians did not arrive till very late at Night. Monſieur *de Lizieux* admired the Violins, and Madame de *Vendome* was hugely diverted to ſee her Daughter Dance alone. In ſhort, we did not ſet out till peep of Day, (it being Summer time, and the Days at the longeſt) and were got no farther than the Bottom of the Deſcent of *Bons-hommes*, when all on a ſudden the Coach ſtopt. I being next to one of the Doors oppoſite to Mademoiſelle *de Vendome*, bid the Coachman drive on. He anſwered as plain as he could ſpeak for his Fright, What would you have me drive over all theſe Devils here? I put my Head out of the Coach, but being ſhort-ſighted from my Youth, ſaw nothing at all. Madame *de Choiſi*, who was at the other Door with Monſieur *de Turenne*, was the firſt in the Coach, who found out the Cauſe of the Coachman's Fright, I ſay, in the Coach, for five or ſix Lacqueys behind it, were already crying, *Jeſu Maria*, and quaking for fear. Madame *de Choiſi* cry'd out, upon which Monſieur *de Turenne* threw himſelf out of the Coach, and I thinking we were beſet by Highway Men, leap'd out on the other ſide, took one of the Footmen's Hangers, drew it, and went to the other ſide to join M. *de Turenne*, whom I found with his Eyes fix'd on ſomething, but what I could not ſee. I ask'd him what it was, upon which he pull'd me by the Sleeve, and ſaid with a low Voice, I'll tell you, but we

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muſt not frighten the Ladies, who by this time ſcream'd moſt fearfully. *Voiture* began his *Oremus*, and pray'd heartily. You, I ſuppoſe, knew the ſhrill Tone of Madame *de Choiſi*; Mademoiſelle *de Vendome* was counting her Beads; Madame *de Vendome* would fain have confeſs'd her Sins to the Biſhop of *Lizieux*, who ſaid to her, Daughter, be of good Cheer, you are in the Hands of God. At the ſame Inſtant, the Count *de Brion*, and all the Lacqueys, were upon their Knees very devoutly ſinging the *Litany* of the *Virgin Mary*. Monſieur *de Turenne* drew his Sword, and ſaid to me, with the calm and undiſturbed Air he commonly puts on when he calls for his Dinner, or gives Battle, Come, let's go ſee who they are. Who ſhould we ſee? ſaid I, for I believed we had all loſt our Senſes. He anſwer'd, I verily think they are Devils: When we advanc'd five or ſix Steps forwards, I began to ſee ſomething, which I thought look'd like a long Proceſſion of black Phantoms; I was at firſt more frighten'd, if poſſible, than M. *de Turenne*, becauſe of this ſudden Reflection, that I had often wiſh'd to ſee a Spirit, and that now perhaps, I ſhould pay for my Incredulity, or rather, Curioſity. Monſieur *de Turenne* was all the while calm and reſolute; I made two or three Leaps towards the Proceſſion, upon which, the Company in the Coach thinking we were fighting with all the Devils, cry'd out moſt terribly; yet 'tis a Queſtion, whether our Company was in a greater Fright than the imaginary Devils, that put us into it, who, it ſeems, were a Parcel of bare-footed Reform'd *Auguſtin Fryars*, otherwiſe called the black *Capuchins*, who ſeeing two Men advancing towards them with drawn Swords, one of them, detach'd from the Fraternity, cry'd out, Gentlemen, we are poor harmleſs Fryars, only come to Bath in this River, for our Healths.

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Monſieur *de Turenne* and I went back to the Coach, ready to die with Laughing at this Adventure. Upon the Whole, we could not help making this Reflection, that what we read in the Lives of moſt People is falſe. We were both groſly miſtaken, I, for ſuppoſing him to be frighten'd, he, for thinking me calm and undiſturb'd. Who therefore can write Truth better than the Man that has experienced it? The Preſident *de Thou*, is very juſt in his Remark, when he ſays, *That there is no true Hiſtory extant, nor can be ever expected, unleſs writ by honeſt Men, who are not afraid or aſhamed to tell the Truth of themſelves.* I don't pretend to make any Merit of my Sincerity in this Caſe; for I feel ſo great a Satisfaction in unfolding my very Heart and Soul to you, that the Pleaſure is even more prevalent than Reaſon with me, in the religious Regard I have to the Exactneſs of my Hiſtory. Mademoiſelle *de Vendome* had ever after an inconceivable Contempt for the poor Count *de Brion*, who in this ridiculous Adventure had diſcover'd a Weakneſs not to be imagined; and as ſoon as we were got into the Coach, ſhe banter'd and ſaid in particular to me, I fancy I muſt be *Henry* the 4th's Grandaughter by the Eſteem I have for Valour. There's nothing can frighten you, ſince you was ſo undaunted on this extraordinary Occaſion. I told her I was afraid, but being not ſo devout as Monſieur *de Brion*, my Fears did not turn to Littanie's: You had none, ſaid ſhe, and I fancy you don't believe there are Devils; for Monſieur *de Turenne*, who is very brave, was much ſurprized, and did not march on ſo briskly as you; I confeſs the Diſtinction pleas'd me mightily, and made me think of venturing ſome Compliments. I then told her, One may believe there is a Devil, and yet not fear him; there are Things in the World more terrible:

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And what are they, ſaid ſhe? They are ſo ſtrong, ſaid I, that one dare not ſo much as name them. She took me right, as ſhe told me ſince, tho' ſhe ſeem'd at that time not to underſtand me.

Mademoiſelle was not what they call a great Beauty, yet ſhe was very handſome, and I was approved of for ſaying of her and Mademoiſelle *de Guiſe*, that they were Beauties of Quality, who convinced the Beholders at firſt ſight, they were born Princeſſes. Mademoiſelle *de Vendome* had no great ſhare of Wit, but her Folly lay as yet concealed, her Air was grave, tinctured with Statelineſs, not the Effect of good Senſe, but the Conſequence of a languid Conſtitution, which ſort of Gravity often covers a multitude of Defects: In the main, take her altogether, ſhe was really amiable.

Let me beſeech you, Madame, with all Submiſſion, to call now to mind the Commands you were pleas'd to honour me with a little before your Departure from *Paris*, that I ſhould give you a preciſe Account of every Circumſtance and Accident of my Life, and conceal nothing. You ſee by what I have related already, that my Eccleſiaſtical Occupations were diverſified and relieved, tho' not disfigured with other Employments of a more diverting Nature. I obſerv'd a *decorum* in all my Actions, and where I happen'd to make a falſe Step, ſome good Fortune or other always retriev'd it. So that all the Eccleſiaſticks of the Dioceſe wiſh'd to ſee me ſucceed my Uncle in the Archbiſhoprick of *Paris*; but Cardinal *de Richelieu* was of another Mind; he hated my Family, and moſt of all my Perſon, for the Reaſons already mentioned, and was ſtill more exaſperated for theſe two which follow.

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I once told the late Preſident *de Meſmes*, what ſeems now to me very probable, tho' 'tis the Reverſe of what I told you ſome time ago: *viz.* that I knew a Perſon, who had few or no Failings, but what were either the Effect or Cauſe of ſome good Qualities. I then ſaid, on the contrary, to Monſieur *de Meſmes*, that Cardinal *de Richelieu* had not one great Quality but what was the Effect or Cauſe of ſome greater Imperfection. This, which was only *inter nos*, was carried to the Cardinal, I don't know by whom, under my Name; you may judge of the Conſequences. Another thing that angred him was, becauſe I viſited the Preſident * *Barillon*, then Priſoner at *Amboiſe*, for Remonſtrances made to the Parliament, and that I ſhould do it at a Juncture, which made my Journey the more taken notice of. Two miſerable Hermits and Falſe Coiners, who had ſome ſecret Correſpondence with Monſieur † *de Vendome*, did, upon ſome Diſcontent or other, accuſe him, very falſly, of having propoſed to them to aſſaſſinate the Cardinal; and to give the more Weight to their Depoſitions, they nam'd all thoſe they thought notorious in that Country; *Montreſor* and Monſieur *Barillon* were of the Number: Early notice of which being given me, the great Love I had for the Preſident *Barillon*, made me take Poſt that Night, to acquaint him with his Danger, and get him away from *Amboiſe*, which was very feaſible; but he inſiſting upon his Innocence, rejected my Propoſals, defied both the Accuſers and their Accuſations, and was reſolved to

* John James Barillon, *Preſident of the Inqueſts, died a Priſoner at* Amboiſe.

† Ceſar de Vendome, *Son of* Hen. IV. *and of* Sabriel d' Eſtrees, *died* 1667.

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to continue in Priſon. This Journey of mine gave a handle to the Cardinal to tell the Biſhop of *Lizieux*, that I was a cordial Friend to all his Enemies. *True enough*, ſaid the Biſhop; *Nevertheleſs you ought to eſteem him; you have no reaſon to complain of him, becauſe thoſe Men, whom you mean, were all his true Friends, before they became your Enemies.* If it be ſo, reply'd the Cardinal, then I am very much miſinformed. The Biſhop, at this Juncture, did me all the kind Offices imaginable, and if the Cardinal had liv'd, he would infallibly have reſtor'd me to his Favour; for his Eminency was very well diſpoſed, eſpecially when the Biſhop aſſured him, that tho' I knew my ſelf ruin'd at Court to all intents and purpoſes, yet I would never come into the Meaſures of Monſieur * *Le Grand*. I was indeed importun'd by my Friend, Monſieur *de Thou*, to join in that Enterprize; but I ſaw the Weakneſs of their Foundation, as the Event has ſhewn, and therefore rejected their Propoſals.

The Cardinal *de Richelieu* died *Anno* 1642. before the good Biſhop had made my Peace with him, and ſo I remain'd among thoſe who had render'd themſelves obnoxious to the Miniſtry. At firſt, this Character was very prejudicial to my Intereſt. Altho' the King was overjoyed at his Death, yet he nicely obſerv'd all the Appearances of Reſpect for his deceas'd Miniſter, confirm'd all his Legacies, careſs'd his Family, kept all his Creatures in the Miniſtry, and affected to frown upon all who had not ſtood well with the Cardinal; but I was the only Exception to this general Rule. When the Archbiſhop

* *Monſieur* de Cinq Mais, Henry Coeffier, *call'd otherwiſe*, Ruze d' Effial, *Maſter of the Horſe of* France, *he was beheaded* Sept. 12. 1642.

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bishop * of *Paris* presented me to the King; I was treated with such distinguishing Marks of Royal Favour, as surpriz'd all the World. His Majesty talk'd of my Studies and Sermons, rallied me with an obliging Freedom, and bid me come to Court once every Week. The Reasons of these extraordinary Civilities were utterly unknown to us till the Night before his Death, when he told them to the Queen; I before pass'd them by in Silence, as having no coherence with my History. But I am oblig'd to insert them here, because they have been in their Consequents more fortunate than they seem'd to have any just claim to expect.

A little after I left the College, my Governour's Valet de Chambre, found at a poor Pinmaker's House, a Niece of hers, but fourteen Years old, that was surprizingly beautiful. After I had seen her, he bought her for me for 150 Pistoles, hir'd a little House for her, and plac'd her Sister with her; when I went to see her, I found her in great Heaviness of Mind, which I attributed to her Modesty. I next Day found what was yet more surprising and extraordinary than her Beauty, she talk'd wisely and religiously to me, and yet without Passion. She did not cry, but when she could not help it. She fear'd her Aunt to a degree, that made me pity her. I admir'd her Wit first, and then her Virtue; for trial of which, I press'd her as far as was necessary, 'till I was e'en asham'd of my self. I waited till Night to get her into my Coach, and then carried her to my Aunt *de Maignelai*, who put her into a Convent, where she died 8 or 10 Years after, in great Reputation for Piety. My Aunt, to whom this young Creature

* John Francis de Gondi, *died* 1654.

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ture confeſs'd, that the Menaces of the Pin-maker had terrified her ſo much, that ſhe would have done whatſoever I would, was ſo affected with my Behaviour, that ſhe went to tell it to the Biſhop of *Lizieux*, who told it to the King.

The ſecond Adventure was not of the ſame Nature, but it made as great an Impreſſion on the King's Mind. It was a Duel I had with *Coutenau*, Captain of a Company of the King's light Horſe, brave, but wild, who riding Poſt from *Paris*, as I was thither, made the Hoſtler take off my Saddle, and put on his; and upon my telling him, I had hired the Horſe, he gave me a ſwinging Box on the Ear with his Arm, which fetch'd Blood. I inſtantly drew my Sword, and ſo did he. The firſt Thruſts we made, his Foot ſlipt; upon which he fell, and his Sword dropt out of his Hand. I retir'd a little, and bid him take it up; which he did, but it was by the Point; for he preſented me the Handle, and begg'd a thouſand Pardons. He told this little Story afterward to the King, with whom he had great Freedom. His Majeſty was pleas'd with it, and remembred it in Time and Place, as you will ſee hereafter.

This good Reception I found at Court, gave my Relations ſome grounds to hope that I might have the *Coadjutorſhip* of *Paris*. At firſt, they found a great deal of Difficulty in my Uncle's narrowneſs of Spirit, which is always attended with Fears and Jealouſies; but at length prevail'd upon him, and had then carry'd our Point, if my Friends had not given it out, much againſt my Judgment, that it was done by the Conſent of the Archbiſhop of *Paris*; and if they had not ſuffered the *Sorbonne*, the Curates, and Chapter to return him their Thanks. This Affair made too much Noiſe in the World for my Intereſt. For Cardinal *Mazarin*, *des Noyers*, and *Chavigni*, thwarted me, and told

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told his Majesty, that the Chapter should not be entrusted with the Power of nominating their own Archbishop. And the King was heard to say, I was yet too young.

But we met with a worse Obstacle than all from Monsieur *de Noyers*, Secretary of State, one of the three Favourite Ministers, who passed for a Religious Man, and was suspected by some to be a Jesuit in Disguise. He had a secret longing for the Archbishoprick of *Paris*, which was just ready to drop, and therefore thought it expedient to remove me from that City, where he saw I was extreamly beloved, and to provide me with some Post suitable to my Years: He got me propos'd to the King, by his Confessor, to be Bishop of *Agde*. The King readily granted it, which confounded me beyond all Expression. I had no Mind to go for *Languedoc*, and yet so great are the Inconveniencies of a Refusal, that not a Man had Courage to advise me to it. I became therefore my own Counsellor, and having resolv'd with my self, what Course to take, I waited upon his Majesty, and thank'd him for his gracious Offer, but said, I dreaded the Weight of so remote a Bishoprick, and that my Years wanted Advice, which is difficult to be had in Provinces so distant. I added to this, other Arguments, which you may guess at. I was in this Adventure also more happy than wise. The King continued to treat me very kindly. This Circumstance, and the Retreat of Monsieur *de Noyers*, who fell into the Snare that *Chavigni* had laid for him, renew'd my hopes of the Coadjutorship of *Paris*. The King died about this time, *Anno* 1643. Monsieur * *de Beaufort*, who had been always devoted to

* Francis, *Son of* Cæsar *of* Vendome, *he was kill'd in* Candie, 1669.

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to the Queen's Intereſt, and even paſſed for her Gallant, imagined now to govern the Kingdom, of which he was not ſo capable as his Valet de Chambre. The Biſhop of * *Beauvais*, the greateſt Idiot you ever knew, took upon him the Character of Prime Miniſter, and upon the firſt Day of his Adminiſtration, requir'd of the *Dutch* to embrace the *Roman* Catholick Religion, if they deſired to continue in Alliance with *France*. The Queen was aſham'd of this ridiculous Miniſter, and ſent for me, to offer my † Father the Place of Prime Miniſter; but he refuſing peremptorily to leave his Cell, and the Fathers of the *Oratory*, the Place was conferr'd upon Cardinal *Mazarin*.

You may now imagine, that it was no great Task for me to obtain what I deſir'd, at a Time, that nothing was refus'd, which made *Feuillade* ſay, that the only Words in the *French* Tongue were, *La Reine eſt ſi bonne*: i. e. *O! the good Queen.* Madame *de Magnelai*, and the Biſhop of *Lizieux*, deſired the Queen to grant me the Coadjutorſhip of *Paris*; but they were repulſed, the Queen aſſuring them, that none ſhould have it but my Father, who kept from Court, and would never be ſeen at the *Louvre*, except once, when the Queen told him publickly, that the King, the very Night before he died, had order'd her expreſly to have it diſpatch'd for me, and that he ſaid in the Preſence of the Biſhop of *Lizieux*, that he had me always in his Thoughts, ſince the Adventures of the Pinmaker, and Captain *Cou-*

* Auſtin Potier, *Uncle to* Rene Potier, St. de Blancmenil, *Preſident of the Parliament.*

† Philip Emanuel de Gondi, Count de Joigni, *he retir'd to the Fathers of the* Oratory, *and became Prieſt, died* 1662, *Aged* 81.

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Coutenau. What Relation had theſe trifling Stories to the Archbiſhoprick of *Paris*? Thus we ſee, that commonly Affairs of the greateſt Moment owe their Riſe and Succeſs to inſignificant Trifles and Accidents. All the Companies went to thank the Queen. I ſent 16000 Crowns to *Rome* for my *Bull*, with Orders not to deſire any Favour, leſt it ſhould delay the Diſpatch, and give the Miniſters time to oppoſe it. I receiv'd my *Bull* accordingly: and now you'll ſee me aſcending the Theatre of Action, where you will find Scenes not indeed worthy of your ſelf, but not altogether unworthy of your Attention.

MEMOIRS

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MEMOIRS

OF THE

Cardinal *De* RETZ, &c.

BOOK II.

MADAME,

I Lay it down as a Maxim, that Men who enter upon Employments, ſhould make it their chief Study to ſet out in the World with ſomething uncommon, which may ſtrike the Imagination of the People, and make themſelves taken notice of. Thus I preach'd firſt upon *All-Saints-Day*, before an Audience which could not but be numerous in a populous City, where 'tis a Wonder to ſee the Archbiſhop in the Pulpit. I began now to think

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think ſeriouſly upon my future Conduct. I found the Archbiſhoprick ſunk both in its Temporals and Spirituals, by the Sordidneſs, Negligence and Incapacity of my Uncle. I foreſaw infinite Obſtacles to its Re-eſtabliſhment, and perceived that the greateſt and moſt inſuperable Difficulty lay in my ſelf. I conſider'd that the ſtricteſt Morals are neceſſarily requir'd in a Biſhop. I found my ſelf the more oblig'd to be ſtrictly Circumſpect, as my Uncle had been very diſorderly and ſcandalous. I knew likewiſe my own corrupt Inclinations would bear down all before them, and that all the Conſiderations drawn from Honour and Conſcience, would prove very weak Fences. At laſt I came to a Reſolution to go on in my Sins, and that deſignedly, which, without doubt, is the more ſinful in the Eyes of God, but with regard to the World, is certainly the beſt Policy, becauſe he that acts thus, always takes care beforehand to cover part of his Failings, and thereby to avoid the Jumbling together of Sin and Devotion, than which nothing can be more dangerous and ridiculous in a Clergyman. This was my Diſpoſition, which was not the moſt pious in the World, nor yet the wickedeſt, for I was fully determined to diſcharge all the Duties of my Profeſſion faithfully, and exert my utmoſt to ſave others Souls, tho' I took no care of my own. The Arch-biſhop, who was the weakeſt of Mortals, was nevertheleſs, by a common fatality attending ſuch Men, the moſt Vain-glorious. He yielded the Precedency to every petty Officer of the Crown, and yet in his own Houſe, would not give the right Hand to any Perſon of Quality that came to him about Buſineſs. My Behaviour was the Reverſe of his almoſt in every thing. I gave the right Hand to all Strangers in my own Houſe, and attended them even to their Coach, for which I was cry'd up by ſome for my Civility, and by others for my Humility. I avoided to appear in

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publick Aſſemblies among People of Quality, till I had eſtabliſhed a Reputation. When I thought I had ſo done, I took an Opportunity, at the Sealing of a Marriage Contract, to diſpute my Rank with Monſieur *de Guiſe*. I had carefully ſtudied the Laws of my *Dioceſe*, and got others to do it for me; and my Right was indiſputable in my own Province. The Precedence was adjudg'd in my Favour by an Arreſt of Council, and I found, by the great Number of Gentlemen who then appeared for me, *That to condeſcend to Men of low Degree, is the ſureſt way to equal thoſe of the Higheſt.* I dined almoſt every Day with Cardinal *Mazarin*, who liked me the better becauſe I refus'd to engage my ſelf in the *Cabal*, they call'd the *Importants*, tho' many of the Members were my deareſt Friends. Monſieur *de Beaufort*, a Man of very mean Parts, was ſo much out of Temper, becauſe the Queen had put her Confidence in Cardinal *Mazarin*, that tho' her Majeſty offer'd him Favours with Profuſion, he would accept none, and affected to give himſelf the Airs of a provoked Lover. He kept no Meaſures with the Duke of *Orleans*, inſulted the late * Prince; and in order to ſupport himſelf againſt the Queen Regent, the chief Miniſter, and all the Princes of the Blood, form'd a Cabal of Men, who all died Mad, and whom I never took for Conjurers from the firſt time I knew them. Such were *Beaupre*, *Fontrailles*, † *Fieſque*, *Montreſor*, who had the Auſterity of *Cato*, but not his Sagacity, and Monſieur *de Bethune*, who oblig'd Monſieur *de Beaufort* to make me great Overtures, which I receiv'd very reſpectfully,

* Henry *of* Bourbon, *the ſecond of that Name, died* 1646, *during the Regency.*

† Charles Leon *Count of* Felque.

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fully, but enter'd into none. I told *Montresor* that I was indebted to the Queen for the Coadjutorship of *Paris*, and that That was enough to keep me from entring into any Engagement that might be disagreeable to her Majesty. *Montresor* said, I was not oblig'd for it to the Queen, it having been order'd before by the late King, and given me at a Crisis when she was not in a Condition to refuse it. I reply'd; "Permit me, Sir, to "forget every thing that may diminish my "Gratitude, and to remember that only "which may encrease it. These Words were afterwards related to Cardinal *Mazarin*, who was so pleas'd with me, that he told them to the Queen.

The Families of *Orleans* and *Conde* being united by Interest, made a Jest of that surly Look from which *Beaufort*'s Cabal were term'd *Importants*; and at the same time artfully made use of the Grand Appearance which *Beaufort* (like those who carry more Sail than Ballast,) never fail'd to put on upon the most trifling Occasions. His Councils were unseasonable, his Meetings to no purpose, and even his hunting Matches became mysterious. In short, *Beaufort* was Arrested at the *Louvre*, by a Captain of the Queen's Guards, and carried, *September* 2. 1643. to *Vincennes*. The Cabal of *Importants* was put to flight, and dispersed; and it was reported over all the Kingdom, that they had made an attempt against the Cardinal's Life, which I don't believe, because I never saw any thing in confirmation of it; tho' many of the Domesticks of the Family of *Vendome*, were a long time in Prison upon this Account.

The Marquis *de Nangis*, who was enrag'd both against the Queen and Cardinal, for Reasons which I shall tell you afterwards, was strongly tempted to come into this Cabal, a few Days be-

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fore *Beaufort* was arreſted, but I diſſwaded him, by telling him: "That Faſhion is powerful "in all the Affairs of Life, but more remark- "ably ſo, in a Man's being in Favour, or in "Diſgrace at Court; there are certain Junctures, "when Diſgrace, like Fire, purifies all the bad "Qualities, and ſets a Luſtre on all the good "ones; and alſo there are Times, when it does "not become an honeſt Man to be out of Favour at "Court. I applied this to the Gentlemen of the aforeſaid Cabal.

I muſt confeſs, to the Praiſe of Cardinal *de Richelieu*, that he had form'd two vaſt Deſigns, worthy of a *Caſar*, or an *Alexander*; that of Suppreſſing the Proteſtants had been Projected before by Cardinal *de* * *Retz*, my Uncle; but that of attacking the formidable Houſe of *Auſtria*, was never thought of by any before the Cardinal. He compleated the firſt, and had made a great Progreſs in the latter.

That the King's Death made no alteration in Affairs, was owing to the Bravery of the Prince of *Conde*, and the famous Battle of *Rocroi*, in 1643. which contributed both to the Peace and Glory of the Kingdom, and covered the Cradle of the preſent King with Laurels. *Louis* the XIIIth his Father, who neither lov'd nor eſteem'd his Queen, gave him a Council, upon his Death-bed, for limiting the Authority of the Regency, and nam'd the Cardinal *Mazarin*, Monſieur † *Seguier*, Mounſieur || *Bouthillier*, and Monſieur *de Chavigni*; but being all *Richelieu's* Creatures, they were ſo hated by the Publick, that when the King was dead, they were hiſſed at by all the Footmen at

* Henry de Gondi, *deceaſed* 1622.
† Peter Seguier, *died* 1672.
|| William de Bautru, *Count of* Serrant.

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at St. *Germains*, and if *de Beaufort* had had a Grain of Senſe, or if *de Beauvais* had not been a Beaſt of a Biſhop, or if my Father had but entred into the Adminiſtration, theſe collateral Regents had been infallibly expell'd with Ignominy, and the Memory of Cardinal *Richelieu* had certainly been branded by the Parliament with univerſal Joy.

The Queen was adored much more for her Diſgraces than for her Merit. *Her Admirers had never ſeen her but under Perſecution, and, in Perſons of her Rank, Suffering is as one of the greateſt Virtues.* People were apt to fancy, ſhe was patient to a degree of Indolence. In a Word, they expected Wonders from her, and *Bautru* uſed to ſay, ſhe had already work'd a Miracle, becauſe the moſt Devout had forgot her Coquettry. The Duke of *Orleans*, who made a ſhew as if he would have diſputed the Regency with the Queen, was contented to be Lieutenant General of the Kingdom. The Prince of *Conde* was declared Preſident of the Council, the Parliament confirm'd the Regency to the Queen, without limitation. The Exiles were called home, Priſoners ſet at liberty, and Criminals pardon'd; they who had been turn'd out, were replac'd in their reſpective Employments, and nothing that was ask'd was refus'd. The Happineſs of private Families ſeem'd to be fully ſecur'd in the Proſperity of the State. The perfect Union of the Royal Family ſettled the Peace within Doors, and the Battle of *Rocroi*, was ſuch a blow to the *Spaniſh* Infantry, as they could not recover in an Age. They ſaw at the Foot of the Throne, where the fierce and terrible *Richelieu*, uſed to thunder, rather than govern, a mild and gentle * Succeſſor, who

* *Cardinal* Julius Mazarin, *Miniſter of State, who died at* Vincennes *in* 1661.

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was perfectly complacent, and extreamly troubled, that his Dignity of Cardinal did not permit him to be as humble to all Men, as he desired, and who, when he went abroad, had no other Attendants than two Foot-boys behind his Coach. Had not I then Reason for saying, that it did not become an honest Man to be ill with the Court at that time of Day? You'll wonder, no doubt, that no Body was then aware of the Consequence of Imprisoning Monsieur *de Beaufort*, when the Prison Doors were set open to all others. This bold Stroke, at a time when the Government was so mild, that its Authority was hardly felt, had a very great Effect. Tho' nothing was more easie, as you have seen, yet it look'd Grand, and all Acts of this Nature are very happy, because they are attended with Dignity, without any Odium. That which generally draws an unaccountable Odium upon even the most necessary Actions of Statesmen is, that in order to compass them, they are commonly obliged to struggle with very great Difficulties, which when they have surmounted, they are sure to be the Objects both of Envy and Hatred. When a considerable Occasion offers, where there is no Victory to be gain'd, because there is no Difficulty to Encounter, which is very rare, it gives such a Lustre to the Authority of Ministers, as is pure, innocent, and without a Shade, and not only establishes it, but derives upon their Administration the Merit of Actions which they have no hand in, as well as of what they have. When the World saw that the Cardinal had apprehended the Man who had lately brought the King back to *Paris*, with inconceivable Pride, Mens Imaginations were seiz'd with an astonishing Veneration. People thought themselves much oblig'd to the Minister, that some were not sent to the *Bastile* every Week; and the Sweetness of his

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Temper was ſure to be cry'd up, whenever he had not an Opportunity of doing them harm. It muſt be own'd, that he had the Art of Improving his good Luck to the beſt Advantage. He made uſe of all the outward Appearances neceſſary to create a Belief that he had been forc'd to take theſe violent Meaſures, and that the Counſels of the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Prince of *Conde*, had determin'd the Queen to reject his Advice; the Day following, he ſeem'd to be more moderate, civil, and frank, than before; he gave free Acceſs to all, Audiences were eaſily had, it was no more to dine with him than with a private Gentleman. He had none of that big look, ſo common to the meaner Cardinals. In ſhort, tho' he was at the Head of every Body, yet he manag'd as if he was only their Companion. That which aſtoniſhes me moſt is, that the Princes and Grandees of the Kingdom, who, one would expect, more quick-ſighted than the Vulgar, were the moſt blinded. The Duke of *Orleans*, and the Prince of *Conde*, who was attach'd to the Court by his covetous Temper, thought themſelves above being Rivall'd. The * Duke was old enough to take his Repoſe under the Shadow of his Laurels; Monſieur *de* † *Nemours*, was but a Child. Monſieur *de Guiſe*, lately return'd from *Bruſſels*, was govern'd by Madame ‖ *de Pons*,

* Henry de Bourbon, *Duke* d' Anguien, *born* 1646, *died* 1686. *'Tis of him we ſhall ſpeak often in this Hiſtory.*

† Charles Amadeus *of* Savoy, *kill'd in a Duel by Monſieur* de Beaufort 1650.

‖ Anne Pouſſart, du Fort, du Vigean, *a younger Siſter to the beauteous* Vigean, *Widow to* Francis Alexander d' Albret, *Lord of* Pons, *She married* 1649, Armand John de Wignerod, *Duke of* Richelieu.

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and thought to govern the whole Court. Monſieur *de Schomberg* comply'd all his Life long with the Humour of thoſe that were at the Helm. Monſieur *de* * *Gramont* was a Slave to them. The Parliament being deliver'd from the Tyranny of *Richelieu*, imagin'd the golden Age was returning, being daily aſſured by the Prime Miniſter, that the Queen would not take one Step without them. *The Clergy, who are always great Examples of ſlaviſh Servitude themſelves*, preach'd it to others, under the plauſible Title of Paſſive Obedience. Thus both Clergy and Laity were, in an Inſtant, become the Devotees of *Mazarin*.

Being order'd by my Lord Archbiſhop of *Paris*, to take care of his Dioceſe in his Abſence; my firſt Buſineſs was, by the Queen's expreſs Command, to viſit the Nuns of the Conception, where, knowing that there were above fourſcore Virgins, many of whom were very pretty, and ſome Coquets, I was very loth to go, for fear of expoſing my Virtue, but I could not be excuſed, ſo that I went, and preſerv'd my Virtue to my Neighbour's Edification, becauſe for ſix Weeks together I did not ſee the Face of any one of the Nuns, nor talked to any of them but when their Veils were down, which gave me a vaſt Reputation for Chaſtity. I continued to perform all the neceſſary Functions in the *Dioceſe*, as far as the Jealouſie of my Uncle wou'd give me leave; and foraſmuch as he was generally ſo peeviſh, that it was a very hard matter to pleaſe him, I at length choſe to ſit ſtill and do nothing. Thus I made the beſt uſe imaginable of my Uncle's ill nature, being ſure to convince him of my honeſt Inten-

* Antony de Gramont, *the third of that Name, created Mareſchal of* France, Sept. 22, 1641, *died* 1678.

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Intentions upon all Occaſions; whereas, had I been my own Maſter, the Rules of good Conduct would have oblig'd me to confine my ſelf to things in their own Nature practicable.

The Cardinal *Mazarin* confeſs'd to me, many Years afterwards, that this Conduct of mine, in managing the Affairs of the Dioceſe, tho' it did him no Injury, was the firſt thing that made him jealous of my growing Greatneſs in *Paris*. Another thing alarm'd him, with as little Reaſon, and that was, my undertaking to examine the Capacity of all the Prieſts of my *Dioceſe*, a Thing of inconceivable Uſe and Importance. For this End, I erected three Tribunals, compos'd of Cannons, Curates, and Men of Religious Orders, who were to reduce all the Prieſts under three different Claſſes, whereof the firſt was to conſiſt of Men well qualify'd, who were therefore to be left in the Exerciſe of their Functions; the ſecond was to comprehend thoſe, who were not at preſent, but might prove able Men in time; and the third, of ſuch Men, as neither were now, nor are ever like to be ſo. The two laſt Claſſes being ſeparated from the firſt, were not to exerciſe their Functions, but were lodg'd in ſeparate Houſes; thoſe of the ſecond Claſs, were inſtructed in the Doctrine; but the third, only in the Practice of Piety. As this could not but be very expenſive, the good People open'd their Purſes, and contributed liberally. The Cardinal was ſo diſturb'd when he heard of it, that he got the Queen to ſend for my Uncle upon a frivolous Occaſion, who, for Reaſons as frivolous, order'd me to deſiſt. Tho' I was very well inform'd, by my good Friend the Almoner, that the Blow came from Court, I bore it with a great deal more Patience than was conſiſtent with a Man of my Spirit, for I did not ſeem to take the leaſt notice of it, but carry'd it as fair to

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the Cardinal as ever. But I was not ſo wary in another Caſe which happen'd ſome time after, for honeſt *Morangis* telling me, I was too extravagant, which was but too true, I anſwer'd him raſhly, *I have made a Calculation that* Cæſar, *when at my Age, ow'd ſix times as much.* This was carried by an unlucky Doctor then preſent, to Monſieur * *Servien*, and he told it maliciouſly to the Cardinal, who made a Jeſt of it, as he had Reaſon, but took notice of it; for which I cannot blame him.

Anno 1645. I was invited, as a Dioceſan, to the Aſſembly of the Clergy, which I may truly ſay, was the Rock whereon the little Share of Favour I had at Court was *caſt away*. Cardinal *de Richelieu* had given a cruel Blow to the Dignity and Liberty of the Clergy, in the Aſſembly of *Mantes*, and with very barbarous Circumſtances, had baniſh'd ſix of his moſt conſiderable Prelates. It was reſolv'd in this of 1645, to make them ſome Amends for their Firmneſs on that Occaſion, by inviting them to come and take their Places, (tho' they were not deputed,) among their Brethren. When this was firſt propoſed in the Aſſembly, no Body dreamt that the Court would take Offence at it, and it falling to my Turn to ſpeak firſt, I propoſed the ſaid Reſolution, as the ſame had been concerted betwixt us before in private Converſation, and it was unanimouſly approv'd of by the whole Aſſembly. At my return home, the Queen's Purſe-bearer came to me, with an Order to attend her Majeſty forthwith, which I accordingly obey'd. When I came into her Preſence, ſhe ſaid, ſhe could not have believed I would ever have been wanting in my Duty, to that degree, as to wound the Memory of the late King, her Lord. I had ſuch Reaſons to offer,

* Abel Servien, *Marquis* de Sable, *died* 1659.

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ſer, as ſhe could not confute her ſelf, and therefore referr'd me to the Cardinal; but I found he underſtood thoſe things no better than Her Majeſty. He ſpoke to me with the haughtieſt Air in the World, refuſed to hear my Juſtification, and commanded me, in the King's Name, to retract publickly, the next Day, in full Aſſembly. You may imagine how difficult it was for me to reſolve in this Caſe. However, I did not break out beyond the Bounds of modeſt Reſpect, and finding that my Submiſſion made no Impreſſion upon the Cardinal, I got the Biſhop of *Arles*, a wiſe and moderate Gentleman, to go to him along with me, and to join with me in offering our Reaſons. But we found his Eminence a very *Ignoramus* in Eccleſiaſtical Polity. I only mention this, to let you ſee, that in my firſt Miſunderſtanding with the Court, I was not to blame; and that my Reſpect for the Cardinal, upon the Queen's Account, was carry'd to an exceſs of Patience.

Some Months after, his profound Ignorance, and invenom'd Malice, furniſh'd me with a freſh Occaſion to try my Patience. The Biſhop of *Warmia*, one of the Ambaſſadors that came to fetch the Queen of *Poland*, was very deſirous to celebrate the Marriage in the Church of *Notre Dame*. Tho' the Archbiſhops of *Paris* never ſuffer'd Solemnities of this kind to be celebrated in their Churches by any but Cardinals of the Royal Family, and tho' my Uncle had been highly blam'd by all his Clergy, for permitting the Cardinal *de Rochefoucaut* to marry the * Queen of *England*; nevertheleſs I was order'd, by a Letter *de Cachet*, to prepare the ſaid Church of *Notre*

* Henrietta Maria *of* France, *Daughter to* Henry IV, *died* 1669.

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Notre Dame, for the Biſhop of *Warmia*, which Order ran in the ſame Stile as that given to the Provoſt *des Marchands*, when he is to prepare the Town-houſe for a publick Ball. I ſhew'd the Letter to the Deans and Canons, and ſaid, I did not doubt but it was a Stratagem of one or other of the Secretary of State's Clerks, to get a ſpill of Money. I thereupon went to the Cardinal, preſs'd him both with Reaſons and Precedents, and ſaid, that as I was his particular humble Servant, I hoped he would pleaſe to lay them before Her Majeſty, making uſe of all other Perſwaſion, which I thought would diſpoſe him to a Compliance. 'Twas then I learnt that he only wanted an Opportunity to embroil me with the Queen; for tho' I ſaw plainly that he was ſorry he had given ſuch Orders before he knew the Conſequence, yet after ſome Pauſe, he reaſſumed his former Obſtinacy to the very laſt Degree; and becauſe I ſpoke in the Name of the Archbiſhop, and the whole Church of *Paris*, he ſtorm'd as much as if a private Perſon, upon his own Authority, had preſum'd to make a Speech to him at the Head of 50 Malecontents. I endeavoured, with all Reſpect, to ſhew him, that our Caſe was quite different; but he was ſo ignorant of our Manners and Cuſtoms, that he took every thing by the wrong Handle. He ended the Converſation very abruptly and rudely, and referr'd me to the Queen. I found Her Majeſty very much upon the fret, and all I could get out of Her was, a Promiſe to hear the Chapter upon this Affair, without whoſe Conſent, I had declared, I could not conclude any thing.

I ſent for them accordingly, and having introduced them to the Queen, they ſpake very diſcreetly, and to the Purpoſe. The Queen ſent us back to the Cardinal, who entertain'd us only with Impertinencies; and as he had but a ſuperficial

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ficial Knowledge of the *French* Tongue, he concluded with telling me, that I had talk'd very *insolently* to him the Night before. You may imagine that Word was enough to shock me, but having resolved beforehand to keep my Temper, I smiled, and said to the Deputies, *Gentlemen, This is fine Language.* He was nettled at my Smile, and told me with a swell'd Tone, *Do you know who you talk to? I'll teach you how to live.* Now, I confess, my Blood began to boil. I told him that the Coadjutor of *Paris* was talking to Cardinal *Mazarin*; but that perhaps he thought himself the Cardinal * *de Lorrain*, and me the Bishop of *Metz*, his Suffragan.

Then we went away, and met the Mareschal † *d' Estrees*, coming up to us, who came to advise me not to break with the Court, and to tell me, that Things might be accommodated. And when he found I was of another Opinion, he told me in plain Terms, that he had Orders from the Queen to oblige me to come to her. I went without more ado, accompanied by the Deputies, and found her more gracious and better humour'd than I am able to express. She told me, that she had a Mind to see me, not so much in relation to our Affair, which might be easily accommodated, as to reprimand me for giving such Language to the poor Cardinal, who was as meek as a Lamb, and lov'd me as his own Son. She added all the kind things possible, and ordered the Dean and Deputies to go along with me to the Cardinal's House, that we might consult together what Course to take. This was so much against my Inclination, that I gave the Queen to understand, that no Person in

* Charles *of* Lorrain, *Bishop of* Metz.

† Francis Annnibal d' Estrees, *who died in* 1670. *Aged* 98.

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in the World, but Her Majesty, could have perswaded me to it. We found the Minister even milder than his Mistress. He made a World of Excuses for the Word *Insolent*, by which he said, and perhaps it may be true, that he meant no more than *Insolito*, a Word that imports somewhat *uncommon*. He shew'd me all the Civility imaginable, but instead of coming to any Determination, put us off to another Opportunity. A few Days after, a Letter was brought me at Midnight, from the Arch-bishop, commanding me to let the Bishop of *Warmia* perform the Marriage, without any more Opposition. Had I been wise, I had stopp'd there; because a Man ought in Prudence to make his Peace with the Court upon any Terms consistent with Honour. But I was young, and the more provok'd, because I perceiv'd that all the fair Words given me at *Fontainebleau* were but a Feint, to gain time to write about the Affair to my Uncle, then at *Angers*. However, I said nothing to the Messenger more than that I was glad my Uncle had so well brought me off. The Chapter being likewise serv'd with the same Order, we sent the Court this Answer, That the Archbishop might do what he list in the Nave of the Church, but that the Choir belong'd to the Chapter, and they would yield it to no Man but himself or his Coadjutor. The Cardinal knew the Meaning of this, and thereupon resolv'd to have the Marriage solemnized in the Chappel-Royal, whereof he said the great Almoner was Bishop. But this being yet a more important Query than the other, I laid the Inconveniencies of it before him in a Letter. This nettled him, and he made a meer Jest of my Letter. I gave the Queen of *Poland* to understand, that if she was marry'd in that manner, I should be forc'd, even against my Will, to declare the Marriage void; but that

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that there remain'd one Expedient, which would effectually remove all Difficulties, *viz.* that the Marriage might be perform'd in the King's Chappel, and ſhould ſtand good, provided that the Biſhop of *Warmia* came to me for a Licenſe.

The Queen reſolving to loſe no more time to wait for new Orders from *Angers*, and fearing the leaſt Flaw in her Marriage, the Court was oblig'd to comply with my Propoſal, and the Ceremony was perform'd accordingly.

Not long after this Marriage, I was unhappily embroil'd with the Duke of *Orleans*, upon an Occaſion of no greater Importance than my Foot-cloth in the Church of *Notre Dame*, which was by miſtake, removed to his Seat. I complained of it to him, and he order'd it to be reſtor'd. Nevertheleſs, the Abbot *de la Riviere*, made him believe, I had put an Affront upon him, that was too Publick to be pardon'd. The Duke was too eaſie to believe it, and while the Courtiers turned all into Banter, ſwore he would receive Incenſe before me, at the ſaid Church, for the future. Mean time, the Queen ſent for me, and told me, that the Duke was in a terrible Paſſion, for which ſhe was very ſorry; but that nevertheleſs, ſhe could not help being of his Opinion, and therefore inſiſted upon it, that I ought to give him ſatisfaction in the Church of *Notre Dame*, the *Sunday* following. Upon the whole, ſhe referr'd me to Cardinal *Mazarin*, who declared to me at firſt, that he was very ſorry to ſee me in ſo much Trouble, blamed the Abbot for having incenſed the Duke, to ſuch a Degree, and uſed all the Arguments he could to wheedle me to give my Conſent to being degraded. And when he ſaw I was not to be led, he endeavour'd to drive me into the Snare. He ſtorm'd with an Air of Authority, and would fain have bullied me into a Compliance: Telling me, that hither-to

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hitherto he ſpoke as a Friend, but that I had forced him henceforth to ſpeak as a Miniſter. He alſo began to threaten, and the Converſation growing warm, he ſought to pick a Quarrel, by inſinuating, that if I would do as St. *Ambroſe* did, I ought to lead a Life like him. As he ſpoke this loud enough to be heard by ſome Biſhops at the other End of the Room, I likewiſe rais'd my Voice, and told him, *I would endeavour to make the beſt Uſe of his Advice; but he might aſſure himſelf, I was fully reſolv'd ſo to imitate St.* Ambroſe *in this Affair, that I might, through his means, obtain Grace to be able to imitate him in all others.* I had not been long gone home, but the Mareſchal *d' Eſtrees*, and Monſieur *Senterre* came, furniſh'd with all the Flowers of Rhetorick, to perſwade me, that Degradation was honourable; and finding me immoveable, they inſinuated that my Obſtinacy might oblige his Highneſs to uſe Force, and order his Guards to carry me, in ſpite of my Teeth, to *Notre Dame*, and place me there on a Seat below his. I thought this Suggeſtion too ridiculous to mind it at firſt, but being forewarn'd of it that very Evening by the Duke's Chancellor, I put my ſelf upon the Defenſive, which, I think, is the moſt ridiculous piece of Folly I was ever guilty of, conſidering it was againſt a Son of *France*, and when there was a profound Tranquillity in the State, without the leaſt Appearance of any Commotion. The Duke, to whom I had the Honour of being related, was pleas'd with my boldneſs. He remember'd the Abbot *de la Riviere*, for his Inſolence, in complaining that the Prince * of *Conti* was prick'd down for a Cardinal before him. Beſides, the Duke knew I was in the right, having

* Armand de Bourbon, *died* 1666.

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ing made it very evident in a ſmall Piece I had publiſhed upon this Head. He acquainted the Cardinal with it, ſaid he would not ſuffer the leaſt Violence to be offer'd me, that I was both his Kinſman and devoted Servant, and that he would not ſet out for the Army till he ſaw the Affair at an end. The Court was all in a Conſternation, for fear of a Rupture, eſpecially when the Prince of *Conde* had been inform'd by the Queen of what his Son had ſaid; and when he came to my Houſe, and found there 60 or 80 Gentlemen, this made him believe that a League was already made with the Duke, but there was nothing in it. He ſwore, he threatned, he begg'd, he flatter'd, and in his Tranſports, he let fall ſome Expreſſions, which ſhewed that the Duke was much more concern'd for my Intereſt, than he ever yet own'd to me. I ſubmitted that very Inſtant, and told the Prince, that I would do any thing, rather than the Royal Family ſhould be divided upon my Account. The Prince, who hitherto found me immoveable, was ſo touch'd at my ſudden ſurrender, in Complaiſance to his Son, at the very time too when he himſelf had juſt aſſur'd me, I was to expect a powerful Protection from him, that he ſuddenly chang'd his Temper; ſo that inſtead of thinking, as he did at firſt, that there was no Satisfaction great enough for the Duke of *Orleans*, now he determined plainly in Favour of the Expedient I had ſo often propoſed, *viz.* That I ſhould go and declare to him, in the Preſence of the whole Court, that I never deſign'd to be wanting in the Reſpect I ow'd him, and that the Orders of the Church had oblig'd me to act as I did at *Notre Dame*. The Cardinal, and the Abbot *de la Riviere*, were enrag'd to the laſt Degree. But the Prince put them into ſuch Fear of the Duke, that they were fain to ſubmit. The Prince

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introduc'd me to the Duke of *Orleans*'s Houſe, where I gave them ſatisfaction before the whole Court, preciſely in the Words abovementioned. His Highneſs was extremely ſatisfied with my Reaſons, carried me to ſee his Medals, and thus ended the Controverſie.

As this Affair, and the Marriage of the Queen of *Poland*, had embroil'd me with the Court, you may eaſily conceive, what turn the Courtiers gave to it. But here I found by Experience, *that all the Powers upon Earth can't hurt the Reputation of a Man, who preſerves it eſtabliſhed and unſpotted in the Society whereof he is a Member.* All the Learned Clergy took my Part, and I ſoon perceiv'd, that many of thoſe who had blamed my Conduct before, retracted. I made this Obſervation upon a Thouſand other Occaſions. I even oblig'd the Court, ſome time after, to commend my Proceedings, and took an Opportunity to convince the Queen, that it was my Dignity, and not any want of Reſpect and Gratitude, that made me reſiſt the Court in the two former Caſes. The Cardinal was very well pleas'd with me, and ſaid in Publick, that he found me as much concern'd for the King's Service, as I was before for the Honour of my Character.

It falling to my turn to make the Speech at the breaking up of the Aſſembly of the Clergy at *Paris*, I had the good Luck to pleaſe both the Clergy and the Court. Cardinal *Mazarin* took me to ſupper with him alone, ſeem'd to be clear of all Prejudices againſt me, and, I verily believe, he was fully perſwaded that he had been impos'd upon. But I was too much belov'd in *Paris*, to continue long in Favour at Court; this was my Crime, that render'd me diſagreeable in the Eyes of a refined *Italian* States-Man, which was the more dangerous, as I omitted no Opportunity

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portunity of Aggravating it by a natural and unaffected Expence, to which, my Air of Negligence gave a Luſtre, and by my great Alms and Bounty, which, tho' very often ſecret, had the louder Eccho; whereas, in Truth, I did it at firſt only in Compliance with Inclination, and out of a Senſe of my Duty. But the Neceſſity I was under of ſupporting my ſelf againſt the Court, oblig'd me to be yet more liberal. I do but juſt mention this here, to ſhew you that the Court was jealous of me, when I never thought my ſelf capable of giving them the leaſt Occaſion; which made me reflect, that a Man is oftner deceiv'd by diſtruſting, than by being over-credulous.

Cardinal *Mazarin*, who was born and bred in the Pope's Dominions, where his Authority has no Limits, took the rapid Motion given to the Regal Power, by his Tutor, the Cardinal *de Richelieu*, to be natural to the Body Politick, which Miſtake of his occaſion'd the Civil War, tho' we muſt look much higher for its genuine Cauſe.

It is above 1200 Years ſince *France* has been govern'd by Kings, but they were not as abſolute as they are now. Indeed, their Authority was never limited by written Laws, as the Kings of *England* and *Caſtile*, but only moderated by receiv'd Cuſtoms, depoſited, as I may ſay, at firſt in the Hands of the States of the Kingdom, and afterwards in thoſe of the Parliament. The Regiſtring of Treaties with other Crowns, and the Ratifications of Edicts for raiſing Money, are almoſt obliterated Images of that wiſe Medium between the Exorbitant Power of the Kings, and the Licentiouſneſs of the People, inſtituted by our Anceſtors. Wiſe and good Princes, found that this Medium was ſuch a Seaſoning to their Power, as made it delightful to their People: On the other Hand, weak and vicious Kings, always hated it as an Obſtacle

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to all their Extravagancies. The Hiſtory of the *Sire de Joinville*, makes it evident, that St. *Lewis* was an Admirer of this Scheme of Government; and the Writings of *Oreſme*, Biſhop of *Liſieux*, and of the famous *Juvenal de Urſins*, convince us, that *Charles* the Fifth, who merited the Surname of Wiſe, never thought his Power to be ſuperior to the Laws, and to his Duty. *Lewis* XI. more Cunning than truly Wiſe, broke his Faith upon this Head as well as all others. *Lewis* XII. had reſtored this Balance of Power to its ancient Luſtre, if the Ambition of Cardinal *de* * *Amboiſe*, who govern'd him abſolutely, had not oppoſed it.

The inſatiable Avarice of Conſtable † *Montmorency*, tended rather to enlarge than reſtrain the Authority of *Francis* the Firſt. The long Views, and vaſt Deſigns of Meſieurs *de Guiſe*, would not permit them to think of Bounding the Prerogative under *Francis* 2d. In the Reigns of *Charles* the 9th, and *Henry* the 3d, the Court was ſo fatigued with civil Broils, that they took every thing for Rebellion which was not Submiſſion. *Henry* the 4th, who was not afraid of the Laws, becauſe he truſted in himſelf, ſhewed he had a high Eſteem for them. The Duke of *Rohan* uſed to ſay, that *Lewis* the 13th was jealous of his own Authority, becauſe he was ignorant of its full Extent. For the Mareſchal || *de Ancre*, and Monſieur ·· *Luynes*, were mere Dunces, incapable

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* George d' Amboiſe, *the firſt of the Name*, 1498, *Miniſter to* Lewis XII, *deceas'd* 1510.

† Anne *of* Montmorency, *Conſtable of* France, 1538, *died* 1567.

|| Concino Concini, *aſſaſſinated in the* Louvre, 1617.

·· Charles d' Albert, *Duke of* Luynes, *Conſtable of* France, *died* 1621.

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capable to inform him. Cardinal *Richelieu*, who ſucceeded them, collected all the wicked Deſigns and Blunders of the two laſt Centuries to ſerve his Grand Purpoſe. He laid them down as proper Maxims for the Eſtabliſhing the King's Authority, and Fortune ſeconding his Deſigns, by the Diſarming of the *Proteſtants* in *France*, by the Victories of the *Swedes*, by the Weakneſs of the *Empire*, and of *Spain*, he eſtabliſhed the moſt ſcandalous and dangerous Tyranny that perhaps ever enſlav'd a State in the beſt conſtituted Monarchy under the Sun. Cuſtom, which has in ſome Countries inur'd Men even to broil, as it were in the Heat of the Sun, has made things familiar to us, which our Forefathers dreaded more than Fire it ſelf. We no longer feel the Slavery, which they abhorred more for the Intereſt of their King, than for their own. Cardinal *Richelieu* counted thoſe things Crimes, which, before him, were look'd upon as Virtues. The *Mirons*, *Harlays*, *Marillacs*, *Pibracs*, and the *Fayes*, thoſe Martyrs of the State, who diſpelled more Factions by their wholeſome Maxims, than were rais'd in *France* by *Spaniſh* or *Britiſh* Gold, were Defenders of the Doctrine for which the Cardinal *de Richelieu* confined Monſieur the Preſident *Barillon*, in the Priſon of *Amboiſe*. And the Cardinal began to puniſh Magiſtrates for advancing thoſe Truths, which they were oblig'd by their Oaths to defend at the Hazard of their Lives.

Our wiſe Kings, who underſtood their true Intereſt, made the Parliament the Depoſitary of their Ordnances, to the end they might exempt themſelves from part of the Odium that ſometimes attends the Execution of the moſt juſt and neceſſary Decrees. They thought it no Diſparagement to their Royalty, to be bound by them, like to God, who always obeys what He

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has once commanded. Miniſters of State, who are generally ſo blinded by the Splendour of their Fortune, as never to be contented with what the Laws allow, make it their Buſineſs to overturn them. And Cardinal *de Richelieu* laboured it more than any other, with equal Application and Imprudence.

God only is Self-exiſtent and Independent; the moſt Rightful Monarchs and eſtabliſh'd Monarchies in the World can't poſſibly be ſupported but by the Conjunction of Arms and Laws; an Union ſo neceſſary, that the one can't ſubſiſt without the other. Laws without the Protection of Arms, ſink into Contempt; and Arms, which are not temper'd by Laws, quickly turn a State into Anarchy. The *Roman* Commonwealth being ſet aſide by *Julius Cæſar*, the ſupreme Power which was devolv'd upon his Succeſſors by force of Arms, ſubſiſted no longer than they were able to maintain the Authority of the Laws. For as ſoon as the Laws loſt their Force, the Power of the *Roman* Emperours vaniſh'd, and the very Men that were their Favourites having got Poſſeſſion of their Seals and their Arms, converted their Maſter's Subſtance into their own, and as it were, ſuck'd them dry under the Shelter of thoſe repealed Laws. The *Roman* Empire formerly ſold by Auction to the higheſt Bidder, and the *Turkiſh* Emperors, whoſe Necks are expoſed every Day to the Bowſtring, ſhew us in very bloody Characters, the Blindneſs of thoſe Men, that make Authority to conſiſt only in Force.

But what need we go abroad for Examples, when we have ſo many at home. *Pepin*, in Dethroning the *Merovingian* Family, and *Capet* in Diſpoſſeſſing the *Carlovingians*, made uſe of nothing elſe but the ſame Power which the Miniſters, their Predeceſſors, had acquir'd under the Authority of their Maſters. And 'tis obſervable, that

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the Mayors of the Palace, and the Counts of *Paris*, placed themſelves in the Thrones of Kings exactly by the ſame Methods that gain'd them their Maſter's Favours, *viz.* by weakning and changing the Laws of the Land, which at firſt always pleaſes weak Princes, who fancy it aggrandiſes their Power, but in its Conſequence, gives a Handle to the great Men, and Motives to the common People, to rebel againſt their Authority. Cardinal *Richelieu* was cunning enough to have all theſe Views; but he ſacrific'd all to his Intereſt. He would govern according to his own Fancy, which ſcorn'd to be ty'd to Rules, even in Caſes where it would have coſt him nothing to obſerve them. And he acted his Part ſo well, that if his Succeſſor had been a Man of his Abilities, I don't know but the Title of Prime Miniſter, which he was the firſt that aſſum'd, would have been as odious in *France* in a little time, as were thoſe of the Mayor *de Palais*, and the Count of *Paris*. But, through the Providence of God, Cardinal *Mazarin*, who ſucceeded him, was not capable to give the State any Jealouſie of his Uſurpation. As theſe two Miniſters contributed chiefly, tho' in a different Way, to the Civil War, I judge it highly neceſſary to give you the particular Character of each, and to draw a Parallel between both.

Cardinal *Richelieu* was well deſcended; his Merit ſparkled even in his Youth. He was taken notice of in the *Sorbonne*; and it was very early obſerv'd, that he had a ſtrong Genius, and a lively Fancy. He was commonly happy in the Choice of his Parties. He was a Man of his Word, unleſs great Intereſt ſway'd him to the contrary, and in ſuch a Caſe he was very artful to preſerve all the Appearances of Probity. He was not liberal, yet he gave more than he

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promis'd; and knew admirably well how to ſeaſon all his Favours. He was more Ambitious than was conſiſtent with the Rules of Morality; altho' it muſt be own'd, that whenever he diſpenſed with them, in Favour of his extravagant Ambition, his great Merit made it almoſt excuſable. He neither fear'd Dangers, nor yet deſpis'd them, and prevented more by his Sagacity, than he ſurmounted by his Reſolution. He was a hearty Friend, and even wiſh'd to have been belov'd by the People; but tho' he had Civility, a good Aſpect, and all the other Qualifications to gain that Love, yet he ſtill wanted ſomething, I know not what to call it, which is abſolutely neceſſary in this Caſe. By his Power and Royal State, he debaſed and ſwallowed up the Perſonal Majeſty of the King; he diſtinguiſhed more judiciouſly than any Man in the World, between Bad and Worſe, Good and Better, which is a great Qualification in a Miniſter. He was too apt to be impatient at meer Trifles, when they had relation to Things of Moment; but thoſe Blemiſhes, owing to his lofty Spirit, were always accompanied with the neceſſary Talents of Knowledge, to make amends for thoſe Imperfections. He had Religion enough for this World. His own good Senſe, or elſe his Inclination, always led him to the Practice of Virtue, if his Self-intereſt did not byaſs him to Evil, which, whenever he committed, he did it knowingly. He extended his Concern for the State no farther than his own Life, tho' never Miniſter did more than he, to make the World believe he had the ſame regard for futurity. In a Word, all his Vices were of that kind, that they receiv'd a Luſtre from his Great Fortune, becauſe they were ſuch as could have no other

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Inſtruments to work with but Great Virtues. You'll eaſily conceive, that a Man, who poſſeſs'd ſuch excellent Qualities, and appear'd to have as many more which he had not, found it no hard Task to preſerve that Reſpect among Mankind, which freed him from Contempt, tho' not from Hatred.

Cardinal *Mazarin*'s Character was the Reverſe of the former; his Birth was mean, and his Youth ſcandalous. He was Threſh'd by one *Moretto*, a Goldſmith of *Rome*, as he was going out of the Amphitheatre, for having play'd the Sharper. He was a Captain of Foot in the *Valteline*, and *Bagni*, his General, told me, that while he was under his Command, which was but three Months, he was only look'd upon as a Cheat. By the Intereſt of Cardinal *Antonio Barberini*, he was ſent Nuncio extraordinary to *France*, which was not got, in thoſe Days, by fair means. He ſo tickled *Chavigni*, by his looſe *Italian* Stories, that by his means, he got in with Cardinal *Richelieu*, who made him Cardinal, with the ſame View, which, 'tis thought, determin'd the Emperor *Auguſtus* to leave the Succeſſion of the Empire to *Tiberius*. He was ſtill *Richelieu*'s obſequious humble Servant, notwithſtanding the Purple. The Queen making choice of him, for want of another, his Pedigree was immediately deriv'd from a Princely Family. The Rays of Fortune having dazled him, and every Body about him, he lifted himſelf up, and they cry'd him up for a ſecond *Richelieu*, whom he had the Impudence to ape, tho' he had nothing of him; for what his Predeceſſor counted Honourable, he eſteemed Scandalous. He made a meer Jeſt of Religion. He promiſed every thing without Scruple, at the ſame time he intended to perform nothing. He

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was neither good-natur'd nor cruel, for he never remembred either good Offices or bad ones. He lov'd himſelf too well, which is natural to a ſordid Soul, and fear'd himſelf too little, the true Characteriſtick of thoſe that have no regard for their Reputation. He foreſaw an Evil well enough, becauſe he was commonly afraid, but never apply'd a ſuitable Remedy, becauſe he had more Fear than Wiſdom. He had Wit indeed, together with a moſt inſinuating Addreſs, and a gay courtly Behaviour; but a villainous Heart appear'd conſtantly through all, to ſuch a Degree, as betray'd him to be a Fool in Adverſity, and a Knave in Proſperity. In ſhort, he was the firſt Miniſter that could be call'd a compleat Trickſter; for which Reaſon, his Adminiſtration, tho' ſucceſsful and abſolute, never ſat well upon him; for Contempt crept inſenſibly into the Miniſtry, the moſt dangerous Diſeaſe of any State, and eaſily diffus'd its Poyſon from the Head to the Members. You will not wonder therefore that there were ſo many unlucky croſs Rubs in an Adminiſtration, which ſo ſoon followed that of Cardinal *de Richelieu*, and was ſo different from it. 'Tis certain, that the Impriſonment of M. *de Beaufort*, impreſs'd the People with ſuch a Reſpect for *Mazarin*, as the Luſtre of his Purple would never have procured from private Men. *Ondedei* (ſince Biſhop of *Frejus*,) told me, that the Cardinal jeſted with him upon Account of the Levity of the *French* Nation in this Point. And that at the End of four Months, the Cardinal ſet up, in his own Opinion, for a *Richelieu*, and even thought he had greater Abilities. It would take up Volumes to contain all his Faults, the leaſt of which were very important in one Reſpect, which deſerves a particular Remark. As he trod in the Steps of Cardinal *Richelieu*, who had

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had compleatly aboliſhed all the ancient Maxims of Government, he went in a Path ſurrounded with Precipices, which *Richelieu* was aware of, and took care to avoid. But Cardinal *Mazarin* made no uſe of thoſe Props, by which *Richelieu* kept his Footing. For Inſtance, Tho' Cardinal *Richelieu* affected to humble whole Bodies and Societies, yet he ſtudied to oblige particular Men, which is ſufficient to give you an Idea of all the reſt. He had indeed ſome unaccountable Illuſions, which he puſh'd to the utmoſt Extremity. The moſt dangerous kind of Illuſion in State Affairs, is a ſort of Lethargy, that never happens but after very great Symptoms. The Aboliſhing of ancient Laws, the Caſhiering that golden Medium which was eſtabliſhed between the Prince and the People, and the ſetting up a Power purely and abſolutely Deſpotic, were the Original Cauſes of thoſe Convulſions which were in *France* in the Days of our Forefathers.

Cardinal *Richelieu* managed the Kingdom as Mountebanks do their Patients, with violent Remedies, which put Strength into it, but it was only a Convulſive Strength, which exhauſted its Vitals. The Cardinal *Mazarin*, like a very unskilful Phyſician, did not obſerve that the Vitals were decay'd, nor had he the Skill to ſupport them by the Chymical Preparations of his Predeceſſor; his only Remedy was to ſet Blood, which he drew ſo plentifully, that the Patient fell into a Lethargy, and our Medicaſter was yet ſo ſtupid, as to miſtake this Lethargy for a real State of Health. The Provinces abandon'd to the Rapine of the Superintendants, were ſtifled as it were, under the Preſſure of their heavy Misfortunes; and the Efforts they made to ſhake them off, in the Time of *Richelieu*, did but add to their Weight and Bitterneſs. The Parliaments, which had ſo lately groaned under Tyranny, were

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in a manner inſenſible of preſent Miſeries, by too freſh and lively a Remembrance of their paſt Troubles. The Grandees, who had, for the moſt Part, been baniſhed the Kingdom, were glad to ſee themſelves returned, and therefore took their ſwing of Eaſe and Pleaſure. If our Quack had but humour'd this univerſal Indolence with Soporificks, their Drowſineſs might have continued much longer; but thinking it to be no otherwiſe than natural Sleep, he apply'd no Remedy at all. The Diſeaſe gained Strength, grew worſe and worſe, the Patient awak'd, *Paris* was ſenſible of her Condition; ſhe groan'd, but no Body minded it, ſo that ſhe fell into a Frenzy, whereupon the Patient became raving Mad.

But now to come to Particulars. *Emeri*, Superintendant of the Finances, and in my Opinion, the moſt corrupt Man of the Age, multiplied Edicts as faſt as he could find out Names to call 'em by. I can't give you a better Idea of the Man, than by repeating what I heard him ſay in full Council, *viz.* That Faith was for Tradeſmen only, and that the Maſters of Requeſts, who urg'd Faith to be obſerv'd in the King's Affairs, deſerv'd to be puniſh'd. This Man, who had in his Youth been condemn'd to be hang'd at *Lions*, abſolutely govern'd *Mazarin* in all the Domeſtick Affairs of the Kingdom. I mention this, among many other Inſtances which I could produce of the ſame Nature, to let you ſee, that a Nation does not feel the Extremity of Miſery, till their Governours have loſt all Shame; becauſe that's the Inſtant when the Subjects throw off all Reſpect, and awake out of their Lethargy, tho' by Convulſions.

The *Swiſs* ſeem'd as it were cruſh'd under the Weight of their Chains, when three of their powerful Cantons revolted, and form'd themſelves into

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into a League. The *Dutch* thought of nothing but an entire Subjection to the Tyrant Duke of *Alva*, when the Prince of *Orange*, by the peculiar Deſtiny of Great Geniuſes, who ſee further into poſſibility than all the World beſides, conceiv'd and brought forth their Liberty. The Reaſon of all this is plain: That which cauſes a Supineneſs in Suffering States, is the Duration of the Evil, which inclines the Sufferers to believe it will never have an End; as ſoon as they have Hopes of getting out of it, which never fails when the Evil is come to a certain Pitch, they are ſo ſurprized, ſo glad, and ſo tranſported, that they run all of a ſudden into the other Extreme, and are ſo far from thinking Revolutions impoſſible, that they ſuppoſe them eaſie, and ſuch a Diſpoſition alone, is ſometimes able to bring them about; witneſs the late Revolution in *France*: Who cou'd have imagin'd three Months before the critical Period of our Diſorders, that ſuch a Revolution could have happen'd in a Kingdom, where all the Branches of the Royal Family were ſtrictly united; where the Court was a Slave to the Prime Miniſter; where the Capital City, and all the Provinces, were in Subjection to him; where the Armies were Victorious, and where the Corporations and Societies ſeem'd to have no Power? whoever, I ſay, had ſaid this, I ſhould have thought him a Mad-man, not only in the Judgment of the Vulgar, but in the Opinion of a *d' Eſtrees*, or a *Semeterre*.

In *Auguſt* 1647, there was a mighty Clamour againſt the Tariff Edict, impoſing a General Tax upon all Proviſions that came into *Paris*, which the People were reſolv'd to bear no longer. But the Gentlemen of the Council being determined to ſupport it, the Queen conſulted the Members depu-

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deputed from Parliament, when Cardinal *Mazarin*, a meer Ignoramus in theſe Affairs, ſaid, he wondered that ſo conſiderable a Body as they were, ſhould mind ſuch Trifles; an Expreſſion truly worthy of *Mazarin*. However, the Council, at length imagining the Parliament would do it, thought fit to ſuppreſs it themſelves by a Declaration, in order to ſave the King's Credit. Nevertheleſs, a few Days after, they preſented five Edicts, even more Oppreſſive than the Tariff, not with any hopes of having them received, but to force the Parliament to reſtore the Tariff. Rather than admit the new ones, they conſented to reſtore the old one, but with ſo many Qualifications, that the Court deſpairing to find their Account in it, publiſh'd an Arret of the Supreme Council, annulling that of the Parliament with all its Modifications. But that call'd the Chamber of Vacations, anſwer'd it by another, enjoining the Arret of Parliament to be put in Execution. The Council ſeeing they could get no Money by this Method, acquainted the Parliament, that ſince they would receive no new Edicts, they could do no leſs than encourage the Execution of ſuch Edicts as they had formerly ratify'd: And thereupon, they trump'd up a Declaration which had been regiſtred two Years before, for the Eſtabliſhment of the Chamber of Domain, which was a terrible Charge upon the People, and of very pernicious Conſequences, and which the Parliament had paſs'd, either through a Surpriſe, or want of better Judgment. The People mutiny'd, went in Shoals to the Palace, and gave very ill Language to the Preſident *de Thore*, *Emeri*'s Son. The Parliament was oblig'd to paſs a Decree againſt the Mutineers. The Court overjoyed to ſee the Parliament and the People together by the Ears, ſupported the Decree by a Regiment of *French* and *Swiſs*

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Swiſs Guards. The *Pariſians* were alarm'd, and got into the Belfrys of three Churches in the Street of St. *Denis*, where the Guards were poſted. The Provoſt ran to acquaint the Court, that the City was juſt taking Arms. Upon which, they ordered the Troops to retire, and pretended they were poſted there for no other End, than to attend the King as he went to the Church of *Notre Dame*; and the better to cover their Deſign, the King went next Day in great Pomp to the ſaid Church, and the Day after, he went to Parliament, without giving notice of his coming till very late the Night before, and carry'd with him five or ſix Edicts more deſtructive than the former. The firſt Preſident ſpoke very boldly againſt bringing the King into the Houſe after this manner, to ſurprize the Members, and infringe their Liberty of Voting. Next Day, the Maſters of Requeſts, to whom one of theſe Edicts, confirm'd in the King's Preſence, had added twelve Collegues, met, and took a firm Reſolution, not to admit of this new Creation. The Queen ſent for them, told them they were very pretty Gentlemen to oppoſe the King's Will, and forbad them to come to Council. Inſtead of being affrighted, they were the more provok'd, and going into the great Hall, demanded that they might have leave to enter their Proteſt againſt the Edict for creating new Members; which was granted.

The Chambers being aſſembled the ſame Day, to examine the Edicts which the King had cauſed to be ratify'd in his Preſence, the Queen commanded them to attend her, by their Deputies, in the Palace Royal, and told them, ſhe was ſurprized that they pretended to meddle with what had been conſecrated by the Preſence of the King. Theſe were the very Words of the Chancellour. The firſt Preſident anſwer'd, That

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That it was the Custom of Parliament, and shewed the Necessity of it, for preserving the Liberty of Voting. The Queen seem'd to be satisfied, but finding, some Days after, that the Parliament was consulting so to qualify those Edicts, as would render them of little or no use, she order'd the King's Council to forbid the Parliament's meddling with the King's Edicts, till they had declared formally, whether they intended to limit the King's Authority. Those Members that were in the Court Interest, artfully made their Advantage of the Nonplus which the Parliament was at to answer the Question, and in order to soften Matters, tack'd a Clause to the Arrets, which specified the Restrictions, *viz.* that all should be executed according to the good Pleasure of the King. This Clause pleas'd the Queen for a while; but when she perceiv'd that it did not prevent the Rejecting of almost any other Edict, by the common Suffrage of the Parliament, she flew into a Passion, and told them plainly, that she wou'd have all the Edicts, without exception, fully executed, without any Modifications whatsoever.

Not long after this, the Court of Aids, the Chamber of Accompts, the Great Council, and the Parliament, made a Union, which was pretended to be for the Reformation of the State, but was more probably calculated for the private Interest of the Officers, whose Salaries were lessen'd by one of the said Edicts. And the Court being alarm'd and perplex'd to the last degree by the Arret for the said Union, endeavour'd, as much as in them lay, to give it this Turn, to make the People have the worse Opinion of it. The Queen acquainted the Parliament, by some of the King's Council, that seeing this Union was entred into for the particular Interest of the Companies, and not for the Refor-

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Reformation of the State, as they endeavour'd to have perſwaded Her, ſhe had nothing to ſay to it; foraſmuch as every Body is at Liberty to repreſent their Caſe to the King, but never to intermeddle with the Government of the State. The Parliament did not reliſh this enſnaring Diſcourſe; and becauſe they were exaſperated by the Court's apprehending ſome of the Members of the Grand Council, they thought of nothing but juſtifying and ſupporting their Arret of Union, by finding out Precedents, which they accordingly met with in the Regiſters, and were going to conſider how to put it in Execution, when one of the Secretaries of State came to the Bar of the Houſe, and put into the Hands of the King's Council, an Arret of the Supreme Council, which, in very injurious Terms, annull'd that of the Union. Upon this, the Parliament deſired a Meeting with the Deputies of the other three Companies, at which the Court was enrag'd, and had recourſe to this mean Expedient, *viz.* to get the very Original Arret of Union out of the Hands of the Chief Regiſter; for that end, they ſent the Secretary of State, and a Lieutenant of the Guards, who put him into a Coach to carry him to the Office; but the People perceiving it, were immediately up in Arms, and both the Secretary and Lieutenant were glad to get off.

After this, there was a great Diviſion in Council, and ſome ſaid, the Queen was diſpoſed to Arreſt the Parliament, but none beſides her ſelf was of that Opinion, which indeed, was by no means to be followed, conſidering how the People then ſtood affected. Therefore a more moderate Courſe was taken. The Chancellor reprimanded the Parliament in the Preſence of the King and Court, and order'd a ſecond Arret of Council to be read and regiſtred inſtead of the

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Union Arret, forbidding them to assemble, under Pain of being treated as Rebels. They met nevertheless, in Defiance of the said Arret, and had several Days Consultation, upon which, the Duke of *Orleans*, who was very sensible they would never comply, proposed an Accommodation. Accordingly, Cardinal *Mazarin* and the Chancellor made some Proposals, which were rejected with Indignation. The Parliament affected to be altogether concerned for the good of the Publick, and decreed an Arret, obliging themselves to continue their Session, and to make humble Remonstrances to the King for annulling the Arrets of Council.

The King's Council having obtain'd Audience of the Queen for the Parliament, the first President strenuously urg'd the great Necessity of inviolably preferring that golden Mean between the King and the Subject; proved that the Parliament had been for many Ages in Possession of full Authority to unite and assemble; complain'd against the Annulling of their Arret of Union; and concluded with a very earnest Motion for suppressing Arrets of the supreme Council made in Opposition to theirs. The Court being mov'd more by the Disposition of the People, than by the Remonstrances of the Parliament, comply'd immediately, and order'd the King's Council to acquaint the Parliament, that the King would permit the Act of Union to be executed, and that they might assemble, and act in Concert with the other Companies, for the good of the State.

You may judge how the Cabinet was mortify'd, but the Vulgar was much mistaken to think that the Weakness of *Mazarin*, upon this Occasion, gave the least Blow to the Royal Authority. In that Conjuncture, 'twas impossible for him to act otherwise; for if he had continued

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nued inflexible on this Occasion, he had been certainly surrounded with Barricadoes, and reckoned a Mad-man. He only yielded to the Torrent, and yet most People accus'd him of Weakness. 'Tis certain this Affair brought him into great Contempt, and that tho' he endeavour'd to appease the People by the Banishment of *Emeri*, yet the Parliament perceiving how much they had the Ascendant of the Court, left no Stone unturned to demolish the Power of this overgrown Favourite.

The Cardinal made desperate by the ill Success of his Stratagems to create Jealousie among the four Companies, and alarm'd at a Proposition which they were going upon for cancelling all the Loans made to the King upon excessive Intereſt: The Minister, I say, being quite mad with Rage and Grief at these Disappointments, and set on by Courtiers, who had most of their Stocks in these Loans, made the King go on Horseback to the Parliament-House in great Pomp, and carry a wheedling Declaration with him, which had some Articles very advantagious to the Publick, and a great many others very ambiguous. But the People were so jealous of the Court, that he went without the usual Acclamations. The Declaration was soon after censured by the Parliament, *&c.* tho' the Duke of *Orleans* exhorted and pray'd that they would not meddle with it, and threaten'd them if they did.

The Parliament also pass'd an Arret, importing, that no Money should be rais'd without Declarations verified; which so provok'd the Court, that they resolv'd to proceed to Extremities, and to make use of the signal Victory which was obtain'd at *Lens*, *Aug.* 24, 1648. to dazzle the Eyes of the People, and gain their Consent for the Oppressing the Parliament.

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All the Humours of the State were ſo diſturb'd by the great Troubles at *Paris*, the Fountain-head, that I foreſaw a Fever would be the certain Conſequence, becauſe the Phyſician had not Skill to prevent it. As I ow'd the Coadjutorſhip of the Archbiſhoprick to the Queen, I thought it my Duty in every Circumſtance, to ſacrifice my Reſentment, and even the Probability of Glory, to Gratitude; and notwithſtanding all the Sollicitations of *Montreſor*, and *Laigues*, I made a firm Reſolution to ſtick cloſe to my own Buſineſs, and not to engage in any Thing that was either ſaid or done againſt the Court at that time. *Montreſor* had been brought up from his Youth in the Faction of the Duke of *Orleans*, and having more Wit than Courage, was ſo much the more dangerous an Adviſer in great Affairs. Men of this Caſt only adviſe things, and leave them to be done by others; *Laigues*, on the other hand, who was entirely govern'd by *Montreſor*, had not much Brains, but was all Bravery, and fear'd nothing. Men of this Character dare do any thing they are put upon by thoſe who confide in them.

Finding that my Innocence and Integrity gain'd me no Friends at Court, and that I had no good Uſage to expect from the Miniſter, who mortally hated me, I reſolved to be upon my Guard, by acting, in reſpect to the Court, with as much Freedom as Zeal and Sincerity; and in reſpect to the City, by carefully preſerving my Friends, and doing every thing neceſſary to get, or rather, to keep the Love of the People. To keep up my Intereſt in the City, I laid out 36 Thouſand Crowns in Alms and other Bounties, from the 26*th* of *March*, to the 25*th* of *Auguſt*, 1648. And to pleaſe the Court, I told the Queen and Cardinal how the *Pariſians* then ſtood affected, which they never knew before, thro' Flattery and Prejudice.

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judice. I complain'd alſo to the Queen of the Cardinal's Cunning and Diſſimulation, and made uſe of the ſame Intimations which I had given the Court, to ſhew the Parliament, that I had done all in my Power to inform the Miniſtry clearly of every thing, and to diſperſe the Clouds always caſt over their Underſtandings by the Intereſt of inferior Officers, and the Flattery of Courtiers. This made the Cardinal break off with me, and thwart me openly at every the leaſt Opportunity, inſomuch that when I was telling the Queen, in his Preſence, that the People in general, were ſo ſower'd, that nothing but Lenitives could abate their Rancour; He anſwer'd me with the *Italian* Fable of the *Wolf*, who ſwore to a Flock of Sheep, he would protect them againſt all his Comrades, provided one of them would come every Morning and lick a Wound he had receiv'd from a Dog. He entertain'd me with the like Witticiſms three or four Months together, of which, this was one of the moſt favourable; whereupon I made theſe Reflections: That *it was more unbecoming a Miniſter of State to ſay ſilly Things, than to do them*; and *that any Advice given him was Criminal.*

The Cardinal pretended, that the Succeſs of the King's Arms at *Lens*, had ſo mortify'd the Court, that the Parliament, and the other Companies, who expected they would take a ſharp Revenge on them for their late Conduct, would have the great Satisfaction to be diſappointed. I own, I was Fool enough to believe him, and was perfectly tranſported at the Thought; but with what Sincerity the Cardinal ſpoke, will appear by and by.

On the *26th* of *Auguſt*, 1648, the worthy *Brouſſel*, Counſellor of the Grand Chamber, and *Rene Potier*, Sieur *de Blancmenil*, Preſident of the Inqueſts, were both taken up by the

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Queen's Officers. 'Tis impossible to express the sudden Consternation of both Men, Women, and Children, in *Paris*, at this Proceeding. The People stared at one another for a while, without saying a Word. But this profound Silence was suddenly attended with a confused Noise of running, crying, and shutting up of Shops, upon which, I thought it my Duty, to go and wait upon the Queen, tho' I was sorely vex'd to see how my Credulity had been abused but the Night before at Court, when I was desired to tell all my Friends in Parliament, that the Victory of *Lens* had only dispos'd the Court more and more to Lenity and Moderation. When I came to the New-Market, in my Way to Court, I was surrounded with swarms of People, making a frightful Outcry, and had much ado to get thro' the Croud, till I had told them the Queen would certainly do them Justice. The very Boys hiss'd the Soldiers of the Guard, and pelted them with Stones. Their Commander, the Mareschal *de Meilleraye*, perceiving the Clouds began to thicken on all sides, was overjoy'd to see me, and would needs go with me to Court, and tell the whole Truth of the Matter to the Queen. The People followed us in vast Numbers, calling out *Brouff l, Brouffel.*

The Queen, whom we found in her Cabinet Council with *Mazarin*, &c. received me neither well nor ill, was too Proud, and too much out of Temper to confess any Shame for what she had told me the Night before, and the Cardinal had not Modesty enough to blush. Nevertheless he seem'd very much confus'd, and gave some obscure Hints, by which I could perceive he would have me to believe, that there were very sudden and extraordinary Reasons which had obliged the Queen to take such Measures. I made as if I approv'd of what he said, and all the Answer I returned was, that I

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was come thither, as in Duty bound, to receive the Queen's Orders, and to contribute all in my Power to restore the Publick Peace and Tranquility. The Queen gave a gracious Nod with her Head; but I understood afterwards that she put a sinister Interpretation upon my last Speech, which was nevertheless very inoffensive, and perfectly consonant to my Character, as I was Coadjutor of *Paris*; but it is a true saying, that in the *Courts of Princes, a Capacity of doing Good, is as dangerous, and almost as criminal, as a Will to do Mischief.* The Mareschal *de la Meilleraye* finding that the Abbot *la Riviere*, and others, made meer Jest and Banter of the Insurrection, fell into a great Passion, spoke very smartly, and appeal'd to me. I freely gave my Testimony, confirm'd his Account of the Insurrection, and seconded him in his Reflections upon the future Consequences. We had no other return from the Cardinal, than a malicious Sneer; but the Queen lifted up her shrill Voice to the highest Note of Indignation, and express'd her self to this effect: *It is a Sign of Disaffection, to imagine that the People are capable of Revolting. These are ridiculous Stories, that come from Persons, who talk as they would have it: The King's Authority will set all to rights.* The Cardinal perceiving that I was a little nettled, endeavour'd to sooth me by this Address to the Queen: *Would to God*, Madame, *that all Men did but talk with the same Sincerity as the Coadjutor of* Paris! *he is in great Pain for his Flock, for the City, and for your Majesty's Authority; and tho' I am perswaded the Danger is not so great as he imagins, yet his Scruples in this case are to be commended in him as laudable and religious.* The Queen understood the Meaning of this Cant, recover'd her self all of a sudden, and spoke to me very civilly; to which I answer'd, with a profound Respect, and so innocent a Countenance, that *la Riviere* said, whispering to *Beautru*, "See what it

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" is not to be always at Court! The Coadjutor " knows the World, and is a Man of Senſe, " yet takes all the Queen has ſaid to be in " earneſt. The Truth is, the Cabinet ſeem'd to conſiſt of Perſons acting the ſeveral Parts of a Comedy. I play'd the *Innocent*, but was not ſo, at leaſt in that Affair. The Cardinal acted the Part of one who thought himſelf *Secure*, but was much leſs ſo than he appear'd. The Queen affected to be *good Humour'd*, and yet was never more ſowr'd. Monſieur *de Longeville* put on the Marks of *Sorrow* and *Sadneſs*, while his Heart leapt for joy; for no Man living took a greater Pleaſure than he to promote all Broils. The Duke of *Orleans* perſonated *Hurry* and *Paſſion* in ſpeaking to the Queen, yet would Whiſtle half an Hour together with the utmoſt Indolence. The Mareſchal *de Villeroy* put on *Gaiety*, to make his Court the better to the Prime Miniſter, tho' he privately own'd to me, with Tears in his Eyes, that he ſaw the State was upon the Brink of Ruine. *Beautru* and *Nogent* acted the *Buffoons*, and to pleaſe the Queen, perſonated old *Brouſſel*'s Nurſe (for he was 80 Years of Age) ſtirring up the People to Sedition, tho' both of them knew well enough, that their Farce might perhaps ſoon end in a real Tragedy. The Abbot *de la Riviere*, was the only Man that pretended to be fully perſuaded that the Inſurrection of the People was but Vapour, and he maintain'd it to the Queen, who was willing to believe him, tho' ſhe had been ſatisfy'd to the contrary; and the Conduct of the Queen, who had the Courage of an *Heroine*, and the Temper of *la Riviere*, who was the moſt notorious Poltroon of his Time, furniſh'd me with this Remark, *That a blind Raſhneſs, and an extravagant Fear, produce the ſame Effects while the Danger is unknown.* The Mareſchal *de Meilleraye* aſſumed the Style and Bravadoe of a Captain, all on

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on a ſudden, when a Lieutenant Colonel of the Guards came to tell the Queen, that the Citizens threatned to force the Guards; and being naturally Hafty and Cholerick, was tranſported even to Fury and Madneſs: He cry'd out, that he wou'd periſh rather than ſuffer ſuch Inſolence, and ask'd leave to take the Guards, the Officers of the Houſhold, and even all the Courtiers he could find in the Antichambers, with whom he would engage to rout the whole Mob. The Queen was violently for it, but no Body elſe, and the Event diſcover'd that 'twas well they did not come into it. At the ſame time enter'd the Chancellor, a Man who had never ſpoke a Word of Truth in his whole Life; but now his Complaiſance yielding to his Fear, he ſpoke directly according to what he had ſeen in the Streets. I obſerved that the Cardinal was ſtartled at the Boldneſs of a Man, in whom he had never ſeen any thing like it before. But *Senneterre* coming in juſt after him, removed all their Apprehenſions in a Trice, by aſſuring them, that the Fury of the People began to cool, that they did not take Arms, and that with a little Patience all wou'd be well again.

There is nothing ſo dangerous as Flattery, at a Juncture where he that's flatter'd is in Fear, becauſe the Deſire he has not to be terrify'd, inclines him to believe any thing that hinders him from applying any Remedy to what he is afraid of. The News that was brought every Moment, made them trifle away that time which ſhould have been employ'd for the Preſervation of the State. Old *Guitaut*, a Man of no great Senſe, but heartily well affected, was more impatient than all the reſt, and ſaid, that he did not conceive how it was poſſible for People to be ſleepy in the preſent Condition of Affairs; he mutter'd ſomething more, which I could not well

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well hear, but it seem'd to bear very hard upon the Cardinal, who ow'd him no good Will. The Cardinal answer'd, Well, M. *Guitaut*, what wou'd you have us do? *Guitaut* said very bluntly, *Let the old Rogue* Brousſel *be reſtor'd to the People either dead or alive.* I said, that to reſtore him dead, was no way conſiſtent with the Queen's Piety and Prudence; but to reſtore him alive, would probably put a ſtop to the Tumult. At theſe Words the Queen redden'd, and cry'd aloud, I underſtand you Monſieur Coadjutor, You would have me ſet *Brouſſel* at Liberty, but I'll ſtrangle him ſooner with theſe Hands; (throwing her Head as it were into my Face at the laſt Word,) and thoſe who ——— The Cardinal not doubting but ſhe was going to ſay all to me that Rage could inſpire, advanc'd, and whiſper'd in her Ear; upon which ſhe became compos'd to ſuch a Degree, that had I not known her too well, I ſhould have thought her very eaſie. The Lieutenant *de Police*, came that Inſtant into the Cabinet, with a deadly pale Aſpect. I never ſaw *Fear* ſo lively and ridiculouſly repreſented in any *Italian* Comedy, as the Fright which he appear'd in before the Queen. How admirable is the Sympathy of fearful Souls! Neither the Cardinal nor the Queen were much mov'd at what M. *de Meilleraye* had ſtrongly urged to them; but the Fears of the Lieutenant ſeiz'd them like an Infection, ſo that they were metamorphoſed all on a ſudden. They ridicul'd me no longer, and ſuffer'd it to be debated whether or no it was expedient to reſtore *Brouſſel* to the People before they took Arms, as they had threatned to do. Here I experienced, that it is more natural to the Paſſion of Fear, to conſult, than to determine. The Cardinal propoſed, that I, as the fitteſt Perſon, ſhould go and aſſure the People, that the Queen would conſent to the Reſtoration of *Brouſſel*, provided they

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they would disperse. I saw the Snare, but could not get off on't, the rather, because *Meilleraye* dragg'd me, as it were, to go along with him; telling her Majesty, that he would, in my Company, dare to appear in the Streets, and that he did not question, but we should do Wonders: I said, that I did not doubt it neither, provided the Queen would order a Promise to be drawn in due Form, for restoring the Prisoners, because I had not Credit enough with the People to be believ'd upon my bare Word. They prais'd my Modesty, *Meilleraye* was assur'd of Success, and they said, the Queen's Word was better than all Writings whatsoever. In a Word, I was made the Cat's Foot, and found my self under a Necessity of acting the most ridiculous Part that perhaps ever fell to any Man's share. I endeavour'd to reply, but the Duke of *Orleans* push'd me out gently with both Hands, saying; *Go, and restore Peace to the State*; and the Mareschal hurry'd me away, the Life-Guards carrying me along in their Arms, and telling me, that none but my self could remedy this Evil. I went out in my Rochet and Camail, dealing out Benedictions to the People on my right and left, preaching up Obedience, exerting all my Endeavours to appease the Tumult, and telling them the Queen had assur'd me, that, provided they would disperse, she would restore *Broussel*. The Violence of the Mareschal hardly gave me time to express my self, for he instantly put himself at the Head of the Horse Guards, and advancing with Sword in Hand, cry'd aloud: *God bless the King, and Liberty* in Brousselz but being seen of more than he was heard, his drawn Sword did more harm, than his proclaiming Liberty to *Broussel* did good. The People took to their Arms, and had a Rencounter with the Marshal, upon which I threw my self into the Crowd,

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Crowd, and expecting that both sides would have some regard to my Robes and Dignity, the Mareschal order'd the Light Horse to fire no more, and the Citizens, with whom he was engag'd, held their Hands; but others of them continued firing and throwing Stones, with one of which I was knock'd down, and was no sooner got up, but a Citizen was going to knock me down with a Musquetoon: Tho' I did not know his Name, yet I had the Presence of Mind to cry out, *Forbear Wretch, if thy Father did but see thee*——— He thereupon concluded I knew his Father very well, tho' I had never seen him; and I believe, That made him the more curious to survey me, when taking particular Notice of my Robes, he ask'd me if I was the Coadjutor? Upon which, I was presently made known to the whole Body, follow'd by the Multitude which way soever I went, and met with a Gang of Brokers all in Arms, whom, with abundance of Flattery, Caresses, Conjuration, and Menaces, I prevail'd on to lay down their Weapons, and it was this which sav'd the City, for had they continu'd in Arms till Night, the City had certainly been plunder'd.

I went, accompanied by 30 or 40 Thousand Men without Arms, and met the Mareschal *de Meilleraye*, who, I thought, would have stifled me with Embraces, and said these very Words, *I am foolhardy and brutish; I had like to have ruin'd the State, and you have sav'd it; come, let us go to the Queen, and talk to Her, like true honest Frenchmen; and let us set down the Day of the Month, that when the King comes to Age, our Testimony may be the means of hanging up those Pests of the State, those infamous Flatterers, who pretended to the Queen, that this Affair was but a Trifle.* To the Queen he presently hurry'd me, and told her, *Here's the Man that has not only sav'd my Life, but*

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but your Guards, and the whole Court. The Queen gave an odd Smile, which I did not very well like, but I would not ſeem to take any notice of it; and to ſtop *Meilleraye* in his Encomium upon me, I aſſumed the Diſcourſe my ſelf, and ſaid, Madame, We are not come upon my Account, but to tell you that the City of *Paris* diſarm'd and ſubmiſſive, throws her ſelf at your Majeſty's Feet. *Not ſo ſubmiſſive as guilty,* reply'd the Queen, with a Face full of Fire, *If the People were ſo Raging as I was made to believe, how came they to be ſo ſoon ſubdued?* The Mareſchal fell into a Paſſion, and ſaid with an Oath, *Madame, an honeſt Man cannot flatter you when things are come to ſuch an Extremity: If you don't ſet* Brouſſel *this very Day at liberty, there will not be left one Stone upon another in* Paris, *by to Morrow Morning.* I was going to ſupport what the Mareſchal ſaid, but the Queen ſtopt my Mouth, by telling me, with an Air of Banter, *Go to reſt, Sir, you have done a mighty Piece of Work.*

When I returned home, I found an incredible Number of People expecting me, who forc'd me to get upon the Top of my Coach, to give them an Account of what Succeſs I had at Court. I told them, that the Queen had declar'd her Satisfaction in their Submiſſion, and that ſhe told me, 'twas the only Method they could have taken for the Deliverance of the Priſoners. I added other Perſwaſives to pacify the Commonalty, and they diſperſed the ſooner, becauſe it was ſupper-time; for you muſt know, that the People of *Paris*, even thoſe that are the buſieſt in all ſuch Commotions, don't care to loſe their Meals.

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I began to perceive, that I had engag'd my Reputation too far, in giving the People any Grounds to hope for the Liberty of *Brouſſel*, tho' I had induſtriouſly avoided giving them my Word of Honour; and I apprehended, that the Court would lay hold of this Occaſion to deſtroy me effectually, in the Opinion of the People, by making them believe, that I acted in concert with the Court, only to amuſe and bubble them.

While I was making theſe and the like Reflections, *Montreſor* came and told me, that I was quite miſtaken, if I thought to be a great Gainer by the late Expedition; that the Queen was not pleaſed with my Proceedings; and that the Court was perſwaded, that I did what lay in my Power to promote the Inſurrection. I confeſs, I gave no Credit to what *Montreſor* ſaid, for tho' I ſaw they made a Jeſt of me in the Queen's Cabinet, I hop'd however, that their Malice did not go ſo far as to diminiſh the Merit of the Service I had done, and never imagined that they could be capable of turning it into a Crime. *Laigues* too came from Court, and told me, that I was publickly laugh'd at, and charg'd with having fomented the Inſurrection, inſtead of appeaſing it; that I had been worried two whole Hours, and expos'd to the fine Raillerie of *Beautru*, to the Buffoonery of *Nogent*, to the Pleaſantry of *la Riviere*, to the falſe Compaſſion of the Cardinal, and to the loud Laughter of the Queen.

You may gueſs that I was not a little moved at this, but I rather felt a ſlight Temptation, than any tranſport of Paſſion. All ſorts of Notions came into my Mind, and all as ſuddenly paſs'd away. And I ſacrificed with little or no ſcruple, all the ſweeteſt and brighteſt Images, which the Memory of paſt

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Conſpiracies preſented in Crouds to my Mind, as ſoon as the ill Treatment I now publickly met with, gave me reaſon to think, that I might with Honour engage my ſelf in new ones. The Obligations I had to Her Majeſty, made me reject all theſe Thoughts, tho', I muſt confeſs, I was brought up in them from my Infancy; and *Laigues* and *Montreſor* could have never ſhaken my Reſolution, either by Motives, or Reproaches, if *Argenteuil*, a Gentleman firmly attach'd to my Intereſt, had not come into my Room that Moment, with a frighted Countenance, and ſaid, "You are an undone Man: The Mareſchal *de* "*la Meilleraye* has charg'd me to tell you, that "he verily thinks the Devil's in the Courtiers, "who has put it into their Heads, that you "have done all in your Power to ſtir up the ſe-"dition: that the Mareſchal *de la Meilleraye* "had labour'd earneſtly to inform the Queen "and Cardinal of the Truth of the whole Mat-"ter, but Both had ridicul'd him for his at-"tempt: That the Mareſchal ſaid, he could "not excuſe the Injury they did me, but cou'd "not ſufficiently admire the Contempt they al-"ways had for the Tumult, of which they "foretold the Conſequence, as if they had the "Gift of Prophecy, always affirming that it "would vaniſh in a Night, as it really had, for "he hardly met a Soul in the Streets. He ad-"ded, that Fires, ſo quickly extinguiſh'd as "this, were not like to break out again; that "he conjur'd me to provide for my own ſafe-"ty: That the King's Authority would ſhine "out the next Day, with all the Luſtre ima-"ginable; that the Court ſeem'd reſolv'd not "to let ſlip this fatal Conjuncture; and that I "was to be made the firſt publick Example.

"Agre-

" *Argentevil* added, *Villeroy* did not tell me " ſo much, becauſe he durſt not, but he ſo " ſqueez'd my Hand *en paſſant*, that I am apt " to think, he knows a great deal more; and I " muſt tell you, ſays *Argentevil*, they have ve- " ry good reaſon for their Apprehenſions, becauſe " there's not a Soul to be ſeen in the Streets, and to " Morrow they may take up whom they liſt. *Montreſor*, who wou'd be thought to know all things beforehand, ſaid, that he was aſſured it would be ſo, and that he had foretold it. *Laignes* bewail'd my Conduct, which, ſaid he, has rais'd the Compaſſion of all my Friends, altho' it has been their ruine. Upon this, I deſir'd to be left about a Quarter of an Hour to my ſelf, during which, reflecting how I had been provok'd, and the Publick threaten'd, my Scruples vaniſh'd; I gave the looſe to all my Thoughts; recollected all the glorious Idea's which had ever enter'd my Imagination as moſt proportionable to vaſt Deſigns; and ſuffer'd my Mind to be Regaled with the tickling Hopes of being the Head of a Party, which I had always admir'd in the Lives of *Plutarch*. The Inconſiſtency of my Scheme with my Character, made me tremble. A World of Incidents may happen when the Virtues in the Leader of a Party, may be Vices in an Archbiſhop. I had this View a thouſand Times, and it always gave place to the Duty I thought I ow'd to Her Majeſty; but the Remembrance of what paſs'd at the Queen's Table, and the Reſolution there taken to ruine me with the Publick, having baniſh'd all Scruples, I joyfully determin'd to abandon my Deſtiny to all the Impulſes of Glory. I ſaid to my Friends, that the whole Court was witneſs of the injurious Treatment I had met with for above a Year in the King's Palace, the Publick is engag'd to de-

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fend my Honour; but the Publick being now to be sacrific'd, I am oblig'd to defend it against Oppression. Our Circumstances are not so bad as you imagine, Gentlemen, and before twelve a Clock to Morrow, I shall be Master of *Paris*.

My two Friends thought I was Mad, and began to preach up Moderation, whereas before they always teiz'd me to Action, but I did not give them the Hearing. I immediately sent for *Miron*, Accomptant General, one of the City Colonels, a Man of Probity and Courage, and of great Interest with the People. Him I consulted with, and he executed his Commission with so much Discretion and Bravery, that above 400 considerable Citizens were posted up and down in Plattoons, with no more Noise and Stir, than if so many *Carthusian* Novices had been assembled for Contemplation. After having given Orders for securing certain Gates and Bars of the City, I went to sleep, and was told next Morning, that no Soldiers had appear'd all Night, except a few Troopers, who just took a View of the Plattoons of the Citizens, and then gallop'd off. From hence it was inferr'd, that our Precautions had prevented the Execution of the Design form'd against particular Persons, but it was believ'd there was some Mischief hatching at the Chancellor's against the Publick; because Serjeants were running backward and forward, and *Ondedei* went thither four times in two Hours. Being informed soon after that the Chancellor was going to the Palace with all the Pomp of Magistracy, and that two Companies of *Swiss* Guards approach'd the Suburbs, I gave my Orders in two Words, which were executed in two Minutes. *Miron* order'd the Citizens to take Arms, and *Argenteuil*, disguis'd in a Mason's Habit, with a Rule in his Hand, charg'd the *Swiss* in Flank, kill'd 20 or 30, took one of

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the Colours, and disperſ'd the reſt. The Chancellor hemm'd in on every ſide, narrowly eſcaped with his Life to the *Hotel d' O*, which the People broke open, ruſh'd in with Fury, and as God would have it, fell immediately to Plundering, ſo that they forgot to force open a little Chamber, where both the Chancellor, and his Brother the Biſhop of *Meaux*, to whom he was confeſſing, lay conceal'd. This ran like Wild-fire through the whole City, Men, Women, and Children, were immediately up in Arms, for even the Mothers put Daggers into the Hands of their Children; and in leſs than 2 Hours, there were erected above 200 Barricadoes, adorned with all the Standards and Colours that the League had left entire. All the Cry was, *God bleſs the King*, ſometimes, *God bleſs the Coadjutor*, and all the Eccho, *No Mazarin.*

The Queen ſent her Commands to me, to uſe my Intereſt to appeaſe the Tumult. I anſwer'd the Meſſenger very coolly, that I had forfeited my Credit with the People, upon Account of yeſterday's Tranſactions, and that I did not dare to go abroad. The Meſſenger had heard the Cry of, *God bleſs the Coadjutor*, and would fain have perſwaded me that I was the Favourite of the People; but I ſtrove as much to convince him of the contrary.

The Court Minions of the two laſt Centuries, knew not what they did, when they reduced that effectual Regard which Kings ought to have for their Subjects into meer Style and Form; for there are, as you ſee, certain Conjunctures, in which, by a neceſſary Conſequence, Subjects make a meer Form alſo of the real Obedience which they owe their Sovereigns.

The Parliament hearing the Cries of the People for *Brouſſel*, *Brouſſel*, after having order'd a Decree againſt *Cominges*, Lieutenant of the Queen's Guards,

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Guards, who had arreſted him, made it Death for all who took the like Commiſſions for the future, and that an Information ſhould be drawn up againſt thoſe who had given that Advice, as Diſturbers of the publick Peace, and went in a Body, in their Robes, to the Queen, with their firſt Preſident at the Head, being ſaluted with the Shouts of the People, who open'd all their Barricadoes to let them paſs. The firſt Preſident repreſented to the Queen, with a becoming Freedom, that the Royal Word had been proſtituted a thouſand Times over by ſcandalous and even childiſh Evaſions, defeating Reſolutions the moſt uſeful and neceſſary for the State. He ſtrongly exaggerated the mighty Danger of the State, from the City's being all in Arms; but the Queen, who fear'd nothing, becauſe ſhe knew little, flew into a Paſſion, and rav'd like a Fury, ſaying, I know too well that there is an Uproar in the City; but you Parliamentarians, together with your Wives and Children, ſhall be anſwerable for it all. And with that She retir'd into another Chamber, and clapp'd the Door after her with violence. The Members, who were about 160 in Number, were going down Stairs; but the firſt Preſident perſwaded them to go up, and try the Queen once more; and meeting with the Duke of *Orleans*, he, with a great deal of Perſwaſion, introduced Twenty of them into the Preſence Chamber, where the firſt Preſident made another Effort with the Queen, by ſetting forth the Terrors of the enrag'd Metropolis up in Arms; but ſhe would hear nothing, and threw herſelf into the little Gallery.

Upon this, the Cardinal advanced, and propos'd to ſurrender the Priſoner, provided the Parliament would promiſe to hold no more Aſſemblies. They were going to conſider of the

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Propoſal upon the Spot, but thinking that the People would be inclin'd to believe that the Parliament had been forc'd, if they gave their Votes at the Palace Royal, they reſolv'd to adjourn to their own Houſe. The Parliament returning, and ſaying nothing of the Liberty of *Brouſſel*, found a ſilent Murmur among the People inſtead of loud Acclamations. They ſatisfied thoſe at the two firſt Barricadoes, by telling them, that the Queen had promis'd ſatisfaction; but thoſe of the third, would not be paid in that Coin; for a Journey-Man Cook, advancing with 200 Men, put his Halbert to the Belly of the firſt Preſident, ſaying, Go back, Traytor; and if thou haſt a Mind to ſave thy Life, bring us *Brouſſel*, or elſe *Mazarin*, and the Chancellor, as Hoſtages. Upon this, five Preſidents, *au Mortier*, and about 20 Counſellors, fell back into the Crowd, to make their eſcape; the firſt Preſident only, the moſt undaunted Man of the Age, continued firm and intrepid. He rallied the Members as well as he could, maintaining ſtill the Authority of a Magiſtrate, both in his Words and Behaviour, and went leiſurely back to the King's Palace, thro' Vollies of Abuſes, Menaces, Curſes, and Blaſphemies. He had a kind of Eloquence peculiar to himſelf, knew nothing of Interjections, was not very exact in his Speech, but the force of it made amends for that; and being naturally bold, never ſpoke ſo well as when he was in Danger, inſomuch, that when he return'd to the Palace, he even outdid himſelf, for 'tis certain that he mov'd the Hearts of all preſent, except the Queen, who continued inflexible. The Duke of *Orleans* was going to throw himſelf at her Feet, which four or five Princeſſes, trembling with fear, actually did. The Cardinal, whom a young Counſellor merrily adviſ'd to go out into the Streets, and ſee how the People ſtood affected,

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did at last join with the Bulk of the Court, and with much ado, the Queen condescended to bid the Members go and consult what was fitting to be done, agreed to set the Prisoners at Liberty, restor'd *Broussel* to the People, who carry'd him upon their Heads with prodigious Acclamations, broke down their Barricadoes, open'd their Shops, and in two Hours, *Paris* was more quiet than ever I saw it upon *Good-Friday*.

As to the *Primum Mobile* of this Revolution, it was owing to no other Cause, than a Deviation from the Laws, which so insensibly alter the Opinions of the People, that many times a Faction is form'd before the Change is so much as perceiv'd.

This little Reflection, with what has been said, may serve to confute those, who pretend, that a Faction, without a Head, is never to be fear'd. They grow up sometimes in a Night. The Commotion I have been speaking of, which was so violent and lasting, did not appear to have any Leader for a whole Year; but at last, there rose up, in one Moment, a much greater Number than was necessary for the Party.

The Morning after the Barricadoes were removed, the Queen sent for me, treated me with all the Marks of Kindness and Confidence, said, that if she had hearken'd to me, she had not fallen into the late Inconveniency; that the poor Cardinal was not to blame for it, but that *Chavigni* had been the only Cause of her Misfortunes, to whose pernicious Counsels she paid more Deference than to the Cardinal. But good God, says she, on a a sudden, will not you get that Rogue *Beautru* soundly thresh'd, who has paid so little Respect to your Character; the poor Cardinal was very near having it done t'other Night. I receiv'd all this with more Respect than Credulity. She commanded me to go

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to the poor Cardinal, to comfort him, and advise with him what was the best way to make the People easie.

I went without any Scruple. He embrac'd me with a Tenderness I am not able to express, said there was not an honest Man in *France* but my self, and that all the rest were infamous Flatterers, who had misled the Queen, in spite of all his and my good Counsels. He protested that he would do nothing for the Future without my Advice, shew'd me the Foreign Dispatches, and in short, was so impertinent, that honest *Broussel*, who was likewise present, upon his Invitation, for all his harmless Simplicity, laugh'd heartily as we were going out, and said, 'Twas all meer Buffoonry.

There being a Report that the King was to be remov'd, by the Court, from *Paris*, the Queen assured the Provost *des Marchands*, that it was false, and yet the very next Day carry'd him to *Ruel*. From hence, I did not doubt, but she design'd to surprize the City, which seem'd really astonish'd at the King's Departure, and I found the hottest Members of the Parliament, in a great Consternation, and by so much the more, because News arriv'd at the same time, that General * *Erlac* had pass'd the *Somme* with 4000 *Germans*; now, as in general Disturbances, one Piece of bad News seldom comes alone, five or six Sories of this kind were publish'd at the same time, which made me think I should find it as difficult a Task to support the Spirits of the People, as I had before to restrain them. I was never so nonplus'd in all my Life: I saw Danger in

* *He was Governour of* Brisac, *and commanded the Forces of the Duke of* Weymar, *after the Decease of the said Duke.*

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an its full Extent, and every thing look'd terrible; *Yet the greateſt Dangers have their Charms, if but never ſo little Glory is diſcovered in the Proſpect of bad Succeſs, while the leaſt Dangers have nothing but Horror, when Ill-ſucceſs is attended with Loſs of Reputation.*

I us'd all the Arguments I could to diſſwade the Parliament from making the Court deſperate, till they had thought of ſome Expedients, at leaſt, to defend themſelves from its Inſults, to which they would infallibly have been expoſed, if the Court had taken Time by the Forelock, in which, perhaps, they were prevented by the unexpected Return of the Prince of *Conti*. I hereupon form'd a Reſolution, which gave me a great deal of Uneaſineſs, but was good, becauſe it was the only Reſolution I had to take. *Extremities are always Diſagreeable, but are the wiſeſt Means, when altogether neceſſary; the beſt of it is, they admit of no Medium, and if peradventure they are good, they are always deciſive.* Fortune favour'd my Deſign. The Queen order'd *Chavigni* to be ſent Priſoner to *Havre de Grace*. I laid hold of this Occaſion, to ſtir up the natural Fears of his dear Friend *Viole*, by telling him, That he was an undone Man, for doing what he had done, by the Inſtigation of *Chavigni*. That it was plain, the King left *Paris* with a View to attack it, and that he ſaw, as well as I, how much the People were dejected; that if their Spirits ſhould be quite ſunk, they could never be raiſed; that they muſt be ſupported; that I would influence the People; and that he ſhould do what he could with the Parliament, who, in my Opinion, ought not to be ſupine, but to be awaken'd, at a Juncture when the King's Departure had perfectly drown'd their Senſes; adding, that a Word in Season would infallibly produce this good Effect.

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Accordingly, *Viole* ſtruck one of the boldeſt Strokes that has perhaps been heard of. He told the Parliament, that it was reported, *Paris* was to be beſieg'd; that Troops were marching for that end, and the moſt faithful Servants of his late Majeſty, who, 'twas ſuſpected, would oppoſe Deſigns ſo pernicious, put in Chains. That it was neceſſary for them to Addreſs the Queen to bring the King back to *Paris*; and foraſmuch as the Author of all theſe Miſchiefs was well known, he mov'd farther, that the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Officers of the Crown, ſhould be deſir'd to come to Parliament, to deliberate upon the Arret iſſued out 1617, upon account of Mareſchal *d'Ancre*, forbidding Foreigners to intermeddle in the Government. We thought our ſelves, that we had touch'd too high a Key; but a lower Note had not awaken'd or kept awake Men, whom fear had perfectly ſtupified. I have obſerved, that this Paſſion of Fear, has ſeldom that influence upon particular Perſons, as it generally has upon Companies.

Viole's Propoſition at firſt ſtartled, then rejoic'd, and afterwards animated thoſe that heard it. *Blancmeſnil*, who before ſeem'd to have no Life left in him, had now the Courage to point at the Cardinal by Name, who hitherto had been deſcrib'd only by the Name of Miniſter. And the Parliament cheerfully agreed to remonſtrate to the Queen, according to *Viole*'s Propoſition, not forgetting to pray her Majeſty to remove the Troops farther from *Paris*, nor to ſend for the Magiſtrates to take Orders for the Security of the City.

The Preſident *Coigneux* whiſper'd me, ſaying, *I have no hopes but in you, we ſhall be undone, if you don't work under Ground.* I ſat up accordingly all Night,

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Night, to prepare Inſtructions for St. *Ibal*, to treat with the Count *de Fuenſaldagne*, and oblige him to march with the *Spaniſh* Army, in caſe of need, to our Aſſiſtance; and was juſt going to ſend him away to *Bruſſels*, when M. *de Chatillon*, my Friend and Kinſman, who mortally hated the Cardinal, came to tell me, that the Prince of *Conde* would be the next Day at *Ruel*; that the Prince was enraged againſt the Cardinal, and was ſure he would ruine the State if he was let alone; and that the Cardinal held a Correſpondence in Cyphers with a Fellow in the Prince's Army, whom he had corrupted, to be inform'd of every thing done there to his Prejudice. By all this, I learnt that the Prince had no very great Underſtanding with the Court, and upon his arrival at *Ruel*, I ventur'd to go thither.

Both the Queen and the Cardinal were extremely civil, and the latter took particular notice of the Prince's Behaviour to me, who embrac'd me *en paſſant*, in the Garden, and ſpoke very low to me, that he would be at my Houſe next Day. He kept his Word, and deſir'd me to give him an Account of the State of Affairs, which when I had done, we agreed that I ſhould continue to puſh the Cardinal by the Parliament; that I ſhould carry his Highneſs, by Night *Incog.* to *Longueil* and *Brouſſel*, to aſſure them they ſhould not want Aſſiſtance; and that the Prince of *Conde* ſhould give the Queen all the Marks of his Reſpect for, and Attachment to her, and make all poſſible Reparation for the Diſſatisfaction he had ſhew'd with regard to the Cardinal, that he might thereby inſinuate himſelf into the Queen's Favour, and inſenſibly diſpoſe her to receive and follow his Counſels, and to hear Truths, againſt which ſhe had always ſtopt her Ears; and that by thus letting the Cardinal

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Cardinal drop insensibly, rather than fall suddenly, he would find himself Master of the Cabinet by the Queen's Approbation, and Arbiter of the Publick, by the State of Affairs, and the Assistance of his humble Servants in Council.

The Queen, who went away from *Paris*, to give her Troops an Opportunity to attack and starve the City, told the Deputies who came from Parliament to intreat her to restore the King to *Paris*, that she was extremely surprised and astonish'd; that the King used every Year, at that Season, to take the Air, and that his Health was much more to be regarded, than the imaginary Fears of the People. The Prince of *Conde* coming in at this Juncture, told the President and Counsellors, who invited him to come and take his Place in Parliament, that he would not come, but obey the Queen, tho' it should prove his Ruine. The Duke of *Orleans* said, that he would not be there neither; because the Parliament had given in such Proposals as were too bold to be suffer'd; and the Prince of *Conti* spoke after the same Way.

The next Day, the King's Council carry'd an Arret of Council to Parliament, to put a stop to their Debates against Foreigners being in the Ministry. This made the Parliament so warm, that they order'd a Remonstrance in Writing; and sent to the Provost *des Merchands*, to provide for the Safety of the City, and to all other Governours, to keep the Passages free, and resolv'd next Day to go upon the Proposition against Foreign Ministers. I labour'd all Night to ward off the fatal Blow, which I was afraid would hurry the Prince, against his Will, into the Interest of the Court. But when next Day came, the Members inflamed one another before they sat, thro' the curs'd Spirit of Formality; and the very Men, who two Days ago, were all fear and trembling,

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trembling, were ſuddenly tranſported, they knew not why, from a well-grounded Fear, to a blind Rage; ſo that without reflecting that the General was arriv'd, whoſe very Name made them Shiver, becauſe they ſuſpected him to be in the Intereſt of the Court, they iſſued out the ſaid Arret, which oblig'd the Queen to ſend the Duke of * *Anjou*, but juſt recover'd of the *Small-Pox*, and the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, much indiſpoſed, out of Town; which had begun a Civil War next Day, had not the Prince of *Conde* taken the wiſeſt Meaſures imaginable, tho' he had a very ill Opinion of the Cardinal, both upon the Publick Account, and his own; and was as little pleaſed with that of the Parliament, with whom there was no dealing, either as a Body, or as private Perſons. The Prince kept an even Pace between the Court and Country Factions; and he ſaid theſe Words to me, which I can never forget, *Mazarin doth not know what he is a doing, and will ruine the State, if Care be not taken; the Parliament really goes on too faſt, as you ſaid they would; if they did but manage according to our Scheme, we ſhould be able to ſettle our own Buſineſs, and that of the Publick too; they act with Precipitation, and were I to do ſo, 'tis probable I ſhould gain more by it than they. But I am* LEWIS *of* BOURBON, *and will not ſhake the Throne. Are thoſe Devils in four-ſquare Caps Mad, to force me either to begin a Civil War to Morrow, or to ruine every Man of them, and ſet over our Heads a* Sicilian *Vagabond, who will deſtroy us all at laſt?* In fine, the Prince propoſed to ſet out immediately for *Ruel*, to divert the Court from

* Philip *of* France, *only Brother to King* Lewis XIV. *afterwards Duke of* Orleans, *died ſuddenly at St.* Clou, *in* 1701.

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from their Project of Attacking *Paris*, and to propose to the Queen, that the Duke of *Orleans* and himself, should write to the Parliament, to send Deputies to confer about Means to remedy the Necessities of the State. The Prince saw that I was so transported at this Proposal, that he said to me with Tenderness, *How different are you from the Man you are represented to be at Court! Would to God that all those Rogues in the Ministry were but as well inclined as you!*

I told the Prince, that considering how the Minds of the Parliament were sower'd, I doubted whether they would care to confer with the Cardinal; that his Highness would gain a considerable Point, if he could prevail with the Court not to insist upon the Necessity of the Cardinal's Presence; because then all the Honour of the Accommodation, in which the Duke of *Orleans*, as usual, would only stand for a Cypher, would redound to him; and that such Exclusion of the Cardinal, would disgrace his Ministry to the last Degree, and be a very proper Preface to the Blow which the Prince design'd to give him in the Cabinet.

The Prince improv'd the Hint, so that the Parliament return'd Answer, that they would send Deputies to confer with the Princes only; which last Words, the Prince artfully laid hold of, and advis'd *Mazarin* not to expose himself, by coming to the Conference against the Parliament's Consent; but rather, like a wise Man, to make a Virtue of the present Necessity. This was a cruel Blow to the Cardinal, who, ever since the Decease of the late King, had been own'd as Prime Minister of *France*, and was atttended with Consequences equally disgraceful.

The Deputies being accordingly admitted to a Conference with the Duke of *Orleans*, the Princes of *Conde* and *Conti*, and M. *de Longueville*, the

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the first President *Viole*, who had moved in Parliament that the Arret might be renew'd for excluding Foreigners out of the Ministry, complain'd against the Imprisonment of M. *de Chavigny*, who, tho' no Member, yet he insisted upon his being set at Liberty; because, according to the Laws of the Realm, no Person ought to be detain'd in Custody above Twenty four Hours without Examination. This occasion'd a considerable Debate; and the Duke of *Orleans*, provok'd at this Expression, said, that the President's Aim was, to cramp the Royal Authority. Nevertheless, the latter vigorously maintained his Argument, and was unanimously seconded by all the Deputies, for which they were next Day applauded in Parliament. In short, the Thing was push'd so far, that the Queen was oblig'd to consent to a Declaration, that for the future no Man whatsoever shou'd be detain'd in Prison above three Days, without being examin'd; and by this Means, *Chavigni* was set at Liberty. Several other Conferences were held, in which the Chancellor treated the first President of the Parliament with a sort of Contempt that was almost brutish; nevertheless the Parliament carry'd all before 'em.

In *October* 1648, the Parliament adjourned, and the Queen soon after returned to *Paris* with the King.

The Cardinal, who aim'd at nothing more than to ruine my Credit with the People, sent me 4000 Crowns as a Present from the Queen, for the Services which she said I intended her on the Day of the Barricade, and who, think you, should be the Messenger to bring it, but my Friend the Mareschal *de Meilleraye*, the Man who before warn'd me of the sinister Intentions of the Court, and now was so credulous, as to believe, that I was their Favourite, because the Car-

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Cardinal was pleaſed to ſay how much he was concern'd for the Injuſtice he had done me; which I only mention, to remark, that *Thoſe People over whom the Court has once got an Aſcendant, can't help believing whatever they would have them; and the Miniſters only are to blame, if they do not Bubble them.* But I would not be perſwaded by the Mareſchal, as he had been by the Cardinal, and therefore I refus'd the ſaid Sum very civilly, and I am ſure, with as much Sincerity as the Court offer'd it.

But the Cardinal laid another Trap for me that I was not aware of, *viz.* by tempting me with the Proffer of the Government of *Paris*, which, when I had ſhewed a Willingneſs to accept, he found means to break off the Treaty I was making for that Purpoſe, with the Prince *de Guimene*, who had the Reverſion of it, and then repreſented me to the People as one, who only ſought my own Intereſt. Inſtead of improving this Blunder, which I might have done, to my own Advantage, I added another to it, and ſaid all that Rage cou'd prompt me againſt the Cardinal, to one who told it him again.

To return now to Public Affairs. The People were ſo hot about the Feſtival of St. *Martin*, that they ſeem'd as if they had been all intoxicated with gathering in the Vintage, and you are now going to be entertain'd with Scenes, in Compariſon of which, the paſt are but Bawbles.

There is no Affair but has its Critical Minute, which it is the Maſter-piece of good Conduct to know, and lay hold of, and which if you miſs, eſpecially in the Revolution of Kingdoms, you run a great Riſque, either not to meet with it again, or not to prevent it.

Every one now found their Advantage in the Declaration, if they underſtood their own Intereſt. The Parliament had the Honour of Reeſtabliſhing

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eſtabliſhing public Order. The Princes too had their ſhare in this Honour, and the Firſt Fruits of it, which were Reſpect and Security. The People had a conſiderable Comfort in it, by being eas'd of a Load of above 60 Millions; and if the Cardinal had had but the Senſe to make a Virtue of Neceſſity, which is one of the moſt neceſſary Qualifications of a Miniſter of State, he might, by an Advantage, always inſeparable from Favourites, have appropriated to himſelf the greateſt Part of the Merit, even of thoſe things he had moſt oppoſed.

But theſe Advantages were all loſt upon the moſt trivial Conſiderations. The People, upon the Diſcontinuation of the Parliamentary Aſſemblies, reſumed their ſavage Temper, and were ſcar'd by the Approach of a few Troops, at which it was ridiculous to take the leaſt Umbrage. The Parliament was too apt to give Ear to every groundleſs Tale of the Non-execution of their Declaration. The Duke of *Orleans* ſaw all the Good he was capable of doing, and part of the Evil he had Power to prevent, but neither the one nor the other being ſtrong enough to move his fearful Temper, he was inſenſible of the fatal Blow. The Prince of *Conde*, who ſaw the Evil in its full Extent, was too Couragious, by Nature, to fear the Conſequences; he was inclin'd to do Good, but would do it only in his own Way. His Age, his Humour, and Victories, hindred him from aſſociating Patience with Activity, nor was he timely acquainted with this Maxim, ſo neceſſary for Princes, *viz. Always to ſacrifice little Incidents, to Affairs of the laſt Importance,* And the Cardinal being ignorant of our Ways, daily confounded the moſt Weighty with the moſt Trifling Affairs.

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The Parliament, who met on the 2*d* of *January* 1649, resolv'd to enforce the Execution of the Declaration, which, they pretended, had been infringed in all its Articles: And the Queen was resolved to retire from *Paris* with the King, and the whole Court. The Queen was guided by the Cardinal, and the Duke of *Orleans* by *la Riviere*, the most sordid and self-interested Man of the Age in which he liv'd. As for the Prince of *Conde*, he began to be disgusted with the unseasonable Proceedings of the Parliament, almost as soon as he had concerted Measures with *Broussel* and *Longuevil*; which Distast, joined to the Caresses of the Queen, the apparent Submission of the Cardinal, and an Hereditary Inclination receiv'd from his Parents, to keep fair with the Court, cramp'd the Resolutions of his great Soul. I bewail'd this Change of his Behaviour, both upon my own and the Public Account, but much more for his sake. I lov'd him as much as I honour'd him, and clearly saw the Precipice.

I had divers Conferences with him, in which I found that his Disgust was turn'd into Wrath and Indignation. He swore there was no bearing with the Insolence and Impertinence of those Burghers, who struck at the Royal Authority; that as long as he thought they aim'd only at *Mazarin*, he was on their Side; that I my self had often confess'd, that no certain Measures could be concerted with Men, who chang'd their Opinions every Quarter of an Hour; that he could never condescend to be General of an Army of Fools, with whom no wise Man would engage; besides, that he was a Prince of the Blood, and would not be instrumental in Shocking the State; and that the Parliament might thank themselves if they were ruin'd, for not observing the Measures agreed on.

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This was the Substance of my Answer. *No Men are more bound by Interest than the Parliament, to maintain the Regal Authority; so that they cannot be thought to have a Design to ruine the State, tho' their Proceedings may have a Tendency that Way: It must be own'd, therefore, that if the Sovereign Companies do evil, 'tis only when they are not able to act so well as they would. A skilful Minister, who knows how to manage Companies, as well as particular Men, keeps up such a due Ballance between the Prince's Authority, and the Peoples Obedience, as makes all things succeed and prosper. But the present Prime Minister has neither Judgment nor Strength to adjust the Pendulum of this State Clock, the Springs of which are out of Order. His Business was to make it go slower, which, I own, he goes about, but 'tis very awkardly, because he has not a Head turn'd for it. In this lies the Fault of our Machine; your Highness is in the right, to set about the Mending of it, because no Body else is capable of doing it; but in order to do this, must you join with those that would knock it in Pieces? You are convinced of the Cardinal's Extravagancies, and that his only View is, to establish in* France *a Form of Government known no where but in* Italy. *If he should succeed, will the State be a Gainer by it according to its only true Maxims? Would it be an Advantage to the Princes of the Blood in any Sense? But besides, is he in any likelihood of succeeding? Is he not loaded with the Odium and Contempt of the Public? And is not the Parliament the Idol they Revere? I know you despise them, because the Court is so well arm'd; but let me tell you, they are so confident of their Power, that they are very considerable. They are come to that pass, that they don't value your Forces; and tho' the Mischief is, that at present their Strength consists only in their Imagination, yet a Time may come, when they may be able to do whatever they now think it in their Power. Your High-*

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neſs lately told me, that this Diſpoſition of the People was only Smoak; but be aſſured, that Smoak ſo dark and thick, proceeds from a brisk Fire, which the Parliament blows; and tho' they mean well, may blaze up in ſuch a Flame, as may conſume themſelves, and again hazard the Deſtruction of the State, which has been the Caſe more than once. Bodies of Men, when once exaſperated by a Miniſtry, always aggravate their Failures, and ſcarce ever ſhew them any Favour, which, in ſome Caſes, is enough to ruine a Kingdom.

If when the Propoſition was formerly made to the Parliament by the Cardinal, to declare whether they intended to ſet Bounds to the Royal Authority; if, I ſay, they had not wiſely eluded the ridiculous and dangerous Queſtion, France *had run a great Riſque, in my Opinion, of being entirely ruin'd; for had they anſwered in the Affirmative, as they were on the Point of doing, they would have rent the Veil that covers the Myſteries of State. Every Monarchy has its peculiar Veil; that of* France *conſiſts in a kind of religious and ſacred Silence, which, by the Subjects generally paying a blind Obedience to their Kings, muffles up that Right which they think they have, to diſpenſe with their Obedience, in Caſes where a Complaiſance to their Kings would be a Prejudice to themſelves. It was a Wonder that the Parliament did not ſtrip off this Veil by a formal Arret, which had been of much worſe Conſequences, than the Liberty the People have ſince taken to look through it. Your Highneſs cannot, by the Force of Arms, prevent theſe dangerous Conſequences, which, perhaps, are already too near at Hand. You ſee that even the Parliament can hardly reſtrain the People whom they have rouz'd; that the Contagion is ſpread into the Provinces; and you know that* Guienne *and* Provence, *are perfectly governed by the Example of* Paris. *Every thing ſhakes and totters; and it is your Highneſs only that can ſet us to Rights, becauſe of the Splendour of your Birth and Reputation, and the generally receiv'd Opinion, that none but you can do it.*

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The Queen ſhares with the Cardinal in the common Hatred, and the Duke of Orleans *with* la Riviere, *in the univerſal Contempt of the People. If out of meer Complaiſance, you go into their Meaſures, you'll ſhare in the Hatred of the Publick. 'Tis true, you are above their Contempt, but then ſo great will be their Dread of you, that it will ſo grievouſly Poiſon the Hatred they will then bear to you, and the Contempt they have already for the others, that what is at preſent only a dangerous Wound in the State, will perhaps become Incurable and Mortal. I am ſenſible you have grounds to be diffident of the Behaviour of a Body conſiſting of above two Hundred Perſons, who are neither capable of Governing, nor being Governed. I own the Thought is perplexing, but ſuch favourable Circumſtances ſeem to offer at this Juncture, as I dare ſay would make all maters eaſie. Put the Caſe that Manifeſto's were publiſh'd, and your Highneſs declar'd General of the Parliament Army, would you, Sir, meet with greater Difficulties than your Grandfather and Great Grandfather did, in Accommodating themſelves to the Caprice of the Miniſters of* Rochel, *and the Mayors of* Niſmes *and* Montauban? *And would your Highneſs find it a greater Task to manage the Parliament of* Paris, *than M.* de Mayenne *did, in the time of the League, when there was a Faction the moſt oppoſite that could be to all the Maxims of the then Parliament? Your Birth and Merit raiſe you as far above M.* de Mayenne, *as the Cauſe in Hand is above that of the League. And the Circumſtances of both are no leſs different. The Head of the League declared War, by an open and publick Alliance with* Spain, *againſt the Crown, and againſt one of the beſt and braveſt Kings that* France *ever had. And this Head of the League, tho' deſcended from a foreign and ſuſpected Family, did, notwithſtanding, keep that ſame Parliament in his Intereſt, for a conſiderable time.*

You have opened your ſelf but to two Members of the whole Parliament, and to them only upon their Promiſe to diſcover your Intentions to no Man living.

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ing. How then can your Highneſs think it poſſible that your Intentions, lock'd up ſo cloſely in the Breaſts of two Members, can have any Influence upon the whole Body of the Parliament? I dare anſwer for it, Sir, that if you will but declare your ſelf openly the Protector of the Publick, and of the Sovereign Companies, you might govern them, at leaſt for a conſiderable Time, with an abſolute, and almoſt Sovereign Authority. But this, it ſeems, is not what you have in View, you are not willing to embroil your ſelf with the Court; you had rather be of the Cabinet, than of a Party. Do not take it ill then, that Men, who only conſider you in this Light, don't conduct themſelves as you would have them. You ought to conform your Meaſures to theirs, becauſe theirs are Publick; and you may ſafely do it, becauſe the Cardinal can hardly ſtand under the heavy Weight of the Public Hatred, and is too weak to oblige you againſt your Will, to any ſudden precipitate Rupture. La Riviere, *who governs the Duke of* Orleans, *is the moſt fearful Creature in the World. Continue then to ſhew your Endeavours to qualifie Affairs, and let them take their Courſe according to your firſt Plan. Is a little more or leſs Heat in Parliamentary Proceedings, Reaſon ſufficient to make you alter it? For whatever be the Conſequence, the worſt that can happen is, that the Queen may believe you not zealous enough for her Intereſt; but are there not Salvo's enough for that? Are there not Excuſes and Appearances ready at Hand, and ſuch as cannot fail?*

In fine, Sir, I pray your Highneſs to give me leave to add, that there never was ſo excellent, ſo innocent, ſo ſacred, and ſo neceſſary a Project as this form'd by your Highneſs, and in my humble Opinion, there never were ſuch weak Reaſons as thoſe you have now urg'd, to hinder its Execution; for I take this to be the Weakeſt of all, which, perhaps, you think a very ſtrong one, viz. *That if* Mazarin *miſcarries in his Deſigns, you may be ruin'd along with him; and if he does ſucceed,*

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ceed, he will deſtroy you by the very Means which you took to raiſe him.

It had not the intended Effect upon the Prince, who was already prepoſſeſs'd, and only anſwer'd me in general Terms. But Heroes have their Faults as well as other Men; and ſo had his Highneſs, who had one of the fineſt Genius's in the World, but little or no Forethought. He did not ſeek to aggravate Matters, in order to render himſelf neceſſary at Court, or with a View to do what he afterwards did for the Cardinal; nor was he byaſs'd by the mean Intereſts of Penſion, Government, and Eſtabliſhment. He had moſt certainly great Hopes of being Arbiter of the Cabinet. The Glory of being Reſtorer of the Publick Peace, was his firſt End in View, and the being Conſervator of the Royal Authority, the ſecond. *Thoſe who labour under ſuch an Imperfection, tho' they ſee clearly the Advantages and Diſadvantages of both Parties, know not which to chooſe, becauſe they do not weigh them in the ſame Ballance; ſo that the ſame Thing appears lighteſt to Day, which they think heavieſt to Morrow.* This was the Caſe of the Prince, who, it muſt be own'd, if he had carried on his good Deſign with Prudence, had certainly re-eſtabliſhed the Government upon a laſting Foundation.

He told me more than once, in an angry Mood, that if the Parliament went on at the old rate, he would make them know, that it would be no great Task to reduce them to Reaſon. I perceiv'd by his Talk, that the Court had reaſſumed the Deſign of Beſieging *Paris*; and to be the more ſatisfied of it, I told him, that the Cardinal might eaſily be diſappointed in his Meaſures, and that he would find *Paris* to be a very tough Bit. It ſhall not be taken, ſays he, like *Dunkirk*, by Mines and Storming, but ſuppoſe its Bread from *Goneſſe* ſhould be cut off for eight Days only? I took it then for granted, and reply'd: That the Stopping of that

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Paſſage, would be attended with Difficulties; What Difficulties, ſaid the Prince, very briskly? *The Citizens*; *Will they come out to give Battle? If it were only Citizens*, ſaid I, *Sir, the Battle would not be very ſharp. Who will be with them?* ſaid he, *will you be there your ſelf? That would be a very bad Omen*, ſaid I, *it would look too much like the Proceedings of the League.* After a little Pauſe, he ſaid, *But now to be ſerious, Would you be ſuch a Fool as to embark with thoſe Men? You know, Sir*, ſaid I, *that I am engaged already, and that moreover as Coadjutor of* Paris, *I am concern'd both by Honour and Intereſt in its Preſervation. I ſhall be your Highneſs's humble Servant as long as I live, except in this one Point.* I ſaw he was touch'd to the quick, but he kept his Temper, and ſaid theſe very Words, *When you engage in a bad Cauſe, I will pity you, but ſhall have no Reaſon to complain of you. Nor do you complain of me, but do me that Juſtice you owe me*, viz. *to own, that all I promis'd to* Longueville *and* Brouſſel, *is ſince vacated by the Conduct of the Parliament.* He afterwards ſhew'd me many Perſonal Favours, and offer'd to make my Peace with the Court. I aſſur'd him of my Obedience and Zeal for his Service in every thing that did not interfere with the Engagements I was enter'd into, with which (as he himſelf own'd) I could not poſſibly diſpenſe.

After we parted, I paid a Viſit to Madame *de Longueville*, who ſeem'd enraged both againſt the Court, and the Prince of *Conde*. I was pleaſed to think moreover, that ſhe could do what ſhe would with the Prince of *Conti*, who was little better than a Child; but then I conſidered that this Child was a Prince of the Blood, and it was only a Name we wanted, to give Life to that, which, without one, was a meer *Embryo*. I could anſwer for Monſieur *de Longueville*, who lov'd to be the firſt Man in any publick Revolution; and I was

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as well assured of Mareschal *de la* * *Mothe*, who was enrag'd against the Court, and had been inviolably attach'd to M. *de Longueville* for Twenty Years together. I saw that the Duke of *Bouillon*, through the Injustice done him by the Court, and the ill State of his Domestick Affairs, was very much disgusted, and almost desperate. I had an Eye upon all these Gentlemen at a Distance, but thought neither of them fit to open the Scene; Monsieur *de Longueville* was good only for the second Act; the Mareschal *de la Mothe* was a good Soldier, but had no Head-Piece, and was therefore not qualified for the first Act; M. *de Bouillon* was my Man, had not his Honesty been more Problematick than his Talents. You'll not wonder that I was so fickle in my Choice, and that I fix'd at last upon the Prince of *Conti*, of the Blood of *France*.

As soon as I gave Madame *de Longueville* a Hint of what Part she was to act in the intended Revolution, she was perfectly transported, and I took Care to make M. *de Longueville* as great a Malecontent as her self. She had Wit and Beauty, tho' the Small-Pox had taken away the Bloom of her pretty Face, in which there sate Charms so powerful, as render'd her one of the most amiable Persons in *France*. I could have placed her in my Heart between Madames *de Guimene* and *Pomereux*, and it was not the Despair of succeeding, that pall'd my Passion; but the Consideration that the Benefice was not yet Vacant, tho' not well serv'd; Monsieur *de la Rochefoucaut* was in Possession, yet absent in *Poitou*. I sent her three or four *Billet doux* every Day, and receiv'd as many. I went very often to her Levee, to be more at liberty to talk of Affairs; got ex-

* Philip de la Mothe Houdancourt, *deceased* 1657.

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traordinary Advantages by it, and I knew 'twas the only Way to be ſure of the Prince of *Conti*.

Having ſettled a punctual Correſpondence with Madame *de Longueville*, ſhe brought me better acquainted with M. *de la Rochefoucaut*, who made the Prince of *Conti* believe, that he ſpoke a good Word for him to the Lady, his Siſter, with whom he was in Love. And they two ſo blinded the Prince, that he did not ſuſpect any thing till four Years after.

When I ſaw the Court would be their own Carvers, I reſolved to declare War againſt them, and attack *Mazarin* in Perſon, becauſe otherwiſe we could not eſcape being firſt attack'd by him.

'Tis certain, that he gave his Enemies ſuch an Advantage over him, as no other Prime Miniſter ever did. *Their Power commonly keeps them above Ridicule*; but every Body ridiculed the Cardinal, becauſe of the ſilly Stories, which thoſe in his Poſt are ſeldom guilty of. He had lately ask'd *Bougeval*, Deputy of the Grand Council, *Whether he did not think himſelf obliged to have no Buttons to the Collar of his Doublet, if the King ſhould command it*; a grave Argument to convince the Deputies of a Sovereign Company, of the Obedience due to Kings; for which he was ſeverely Lampoon'd both in Proſe and Verſe.

The Court having attempted to authoriſe exceſſive Uſury by a Law, I mean with reſpect to the Affair of Loans, my Dignity would not permit me to tolerate ſo public and ſcandalous an Evil. Therefore I held an Aſſembly of the Clergy, where, without ſo much as mentioning the Cardinal's Name in all the Conferences, in which I rather affected to ſpare him, yet in a Weeks time, I made him paſs for one of the moſt obſtinate *Jews* in Europe.

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At this very time I was sent for, by a civil Letter under the Queen's own Hand, to repair to St. *Germains*. The Messenger telling me, the King was just gone thither, and that the Army was commanded to advance, I made him believe I would obey the Summons, but I did not intend it.

I was pester'd for five Hours, with a Parcel of idle Rumours of Ruin and Destruction, which rather diverted, than alarmed me; for tho' the Prince of *Conde*, mistrusting his Brother the Prince of *Conti*, had surpriz'd him in Bed, and carry'd him off with him to St. *Germains*, yet I did not question but as long as Madame *de Longueville* stay'd in *Paris*, we should see him again; the rather, because his Brother had neither that Fear or Value for him as to put him under an Arrest, and I was assured that M. *de Longueville* would be in *Paris* that Evening, by a Letter from himself.

The King was no sooner gone, but the Parliament met, frighted out of their Senses; and I know not what they could have done, if we had not found a Way to improve their Fears into a Resolution to make a bold Stand. *I have observ'd a Thousand Times, that there are some kind of Fears not to be removed but by higher Degrees of Terror.* I caus'd it to be signified to the Parliament, that there was in the Town-House a Letter from his Majesty, to the Magistrates, containing the Reasons that had oblig'd Him to leave his good City of *Paris*; which were in Effect, That some of the Officers of the House held a Correspondence with the Enemies of the Government, and had conspir'd to seize his Person.

The Parliament considering this Letter, and that the President *le Feron* the Provost *des Merchands*, was a Creature of the Court, order'd the Citizens to Arms, the Gates to be secured, and

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the Provoſt *des Merchands*, and the Lieutenant *de Police*, to keep open the neceſſary Paſſages for Proviſions.

Having thought it good Policy that the firſt public Step of Reſiſtance ſhould be taken by the Parliament, to juſtifie the Diſobedience of private Perſons, I then invented this Stratagem, to render me the more excuſable to the Queen for not going to St. *Germains*. Having taken leave of all Friends, and rejected all their Intreaties for my ſtay in *Paris*, I took Coach as if I was driving to Court, but by good Luck, met with an eminent Timber-Merchant, a very good Friend of mine, at the End of *Notre Dame* Street, who was very much out of Humour, ſet upon my Poſtillion, and threatned my Coachman; the People came and overturn'd my Coach; and the Women ſhrieking, carried me back to my own Houſe. I wrote to the Queen and Prince, ſignifying how ſorry I was that I had met with ſuch a ſtop. But the Queen treated the Meſſenger with Scorn and Contempt. The Prince, at the ſame time that he pity'd me, could not help ſhewing his Anger. *La Riviere* attack'd me with Railleries and Invectives, and the Meſſenger found they were ſure of putting the Rope about all our Necks on the Morrow. I was not ſo much alarm'd at their Menaces, as at the News I heard the ſame Day, that Monſieur *de Longueville*, returning from *Roan*, had turn'd off to St. *Germains*. Mareſchal *de la Mothe* told me Twenty times, that he would do every thing, without Exception, that Monſieur *de Longueville* would have him do, for or againſt the Court. Monſieur *Bouillon* quarrell'd with me, for confiding in Men, who acted ſo contrary to the repeated Aſſurances I had given him of their good Behaviour. And beſides all this, Madame *de Longueville* proteſted to me, that ſhe had receiv'd no News from Monſieur *de Rochefoucaut*, who

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who went ſoon after the King, with a Deſign to fortify the Prince of *Conti* in his Reſolution, and to bring him back to *Paris*. Upon which, I ſent the Marquiſs *de Noirmoutier* to St. *Germains*, to learn what we had to truſt to.

On the *7th* of *January* 1649, an Order was ſent from the King to the Parliament to remove to *Montargis*, to the Chamber of Accompts to adjourn to *Orleans*, and to the Grand Council, to retire to *Mantes*. A Packet was alſo ſent to the Parliament, which they would not open, becauſe they gueſs'd at the Contents, and were reſolv'd beforehand not to obey. Therefore they return'd it ſeal'd up as it came, and agreed to ſend Aſſurances of their Obedience to the Queen, and to beg ſhe would give them leave to clear themſelves from the Aſperſion thrown upon them in the Letter (abovementioned) ſent to the Chief Magiſtrate of the City. And to ſupport the Dignity of Parliament, it was further reſolv'd, That Her Majeſty ſhould be petition'd, in a moſt humble manner, to name the Calumniators, that they might be proceeded againſt according to Law. At the ſame time *Brouſſel*, *Viole*, *Amelot*, and ſeven others, moved that it might be demanded in Form, that Cardinal *Mazarin* ſhould be remov'd; but they were not ſupported by any Body elſe, ſo that they were treated as Enthuſiaſts. Although this was a Juncture in which it was more neceſſary than ever to act with Vigour, yet I don't remember the Time when I ſaw ſo much Faint-heartedneſs.

The Chamber of Accompts immediately ſet about making Remonſtrances; but the Grand Council would have obey'd the King's Orders, only the City refuſed them Paſsports. I think this was one of the moſt gloomy Days I had ever yet ſeen. I found the Parliament had almoſt loſt all

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all their Spirit, and that I ſhould be oblig'd to bow my Neck under the moſt ſhameful and moſt dangerous Yoke of Slavery, or reduc'd to the dire Neceſſity of ſetting up for Tribune of the People; which is the moſt uncertain and meaneſt of all Poſts, when it is not veſted with ſufficient Power.

The Weakneſs of the Prince of *Conti*, who was led like a Child by his Brother; the Cowardice of Monſieur *de Longueville*, who had been to offer his Service to the Queen; and the Declaration of Meſſieurs *de Bouillon* and *de la Mothe*, had mightily disfigured my Tribuneſhip. But the Folly of *Mazarin* rais'd its Reputation; for he made the Queen refuſe Audience to the King's Council, who return'd that Night to *Paris*, fully convinced, that the Court was reſolv'd to puſh things to extremity.

I was inform'd from St. *Germains*, that the Prince had aſſur'd the Queen, he would take *Paris* in a Fortnight; and that they hop'd that the Diſcontinuance of two Markets only, would ſtarve the City into a Surrender. I carried this News to my Friends, who began to ſee that there was no poſſibility of an Accommodation.

The Parliament was no ſooner acquainted that the King's Council had been deny'd Audience, but with one Voice (*Bernai* excepted, who was fitter for a Cook than a Councellor) they paſs'd that famous Arret of *January* 8. 1649. whereby Cardinal *Mazarin* was declar'd an Enemy to the King and Government, a Diſturber of the Public Peace, and all the King's Subjects were enjoyn'd to fall upon him without Mercy.

In the Afternoon, there was a general Council of the Deputies of Parliament, of the Chamber of Accompts, of the Court of Aids, the chief Magiſtrates of *Paris*, and the ſix Trading Com-

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Companies, wherein it was resolv'd, that the Magistrates should issue out Commissions for raising 4000 Horse, and 10000 Foot. The same Day, the Chamber of Accompts, the Court of Aids, and the City, sent their Deputies to the Queen, to beseech Her Majesty to bring the King back to *Paris*; but the Court was very stiff. The Prince of *Conde* flew out against the Parliament, in the Queen's Presence; and her Majesty told 'em all, that neither the King, nor her self, would ever come again within the Walls of the City, till the Parliament was gone out of it.

The next Day, the City receiv'd a Letter from the King, commanding them to oblige the Parliament to remove to *Montargis*. The Governour, one of the Sheriffs, and four Counsellors of the City, carried the Letter to Parliament, protesting at the same time, that they would obey no other Orders than those of the Parliament, who, that very Morning, settled the necessary Funds for raising Troops. In the Afternoon, there was a general Council, wherein all the Corporations of the City, and all the Colonels and Captains of the several Quarters, enter'd into an Association, confirm'd by an Oath, for their mutual Defence. Mean time, I was inform'd by the Marquis *de Noirmoutier*, that the Prince of *Conti*, and Monsieur *de Longueville*, were very well disposed, and that they stay'd at Court the longer, to have the safer Opportunity of coming away. Monsieur *de Rochefoucaut* writ to the same Purpose to Madame *de Longueville*.

The same Day, I had a sudden Visit from M. * *d' Elbeuf*, who, as they said, having missed of a Dinner at Court, came to *Paris* for a Supper.

* Charles of Lorrain, *the second of that Name, who died* 1657.

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per. He addreſs'd me with all the cajoling Flattery of the Houſe of *Guiſe*, and had three Children with him, who were not ſo Eloquent, but ſeem'd to be as good Whiſtlers as himſelf. He told me, that he was going to offer his Service to the Town-Houſe; but I adviſ'd him to wait upon the Parliament. He was fix'd in his firſt Reſolution; yet he came to aſſure me, he would follow my Advice in every thing. I was afraid that the *Pariſians*, to whom the very Name of a Prince of *Lorrain* is dear, would have given him the Command of the Troops. Therefore I order'd the Clergy, over whom I had any Influence, to inſinuate to the People, that he was too great with the Abbot *de la Riviere*; and I ſhew'd the Parliament what Reſpect he had for them, by addreſſing himſelf to the Town-houſe in the firſt Place, and that he had not Honour enough to be truſted. I was ſhew'd a Letter which he wrote to his Friend, as he came into Town, in which he had theſe Words: *I muſt go and do Homage to the Coadjutor now, but in three Days time he ſhall return it to me.* And I knew from other Inſtances that he did not love me.

While I was muſing what to do, News was brought to me before Day, that the Prince of *Conti*, and Monſieur *de Longueville*, were at the Gate of St. *Honore*, and denied Entrance by the People, who fear'd they came to betray the City. I immediately fetch'd honeſt *Brouſſel*, and taking ſome Flambeaus to light us, we poſted to the ſaid Gate through a prodigious Crowd of People, and it was broad Day before we could perſwade the People that they might ſafely let them in.

The great Difficulty now was, how to manage, ſo as to take off the general Diſtruſt that there was of the Prince of *Conti* among the People. That which was practicable the Night before, was render'd impoſſible, and even ruinous, the next

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next Day; and this same Duke of *Elbeuf*, whom I thought to have driven out of *Paris* on the 9th, was in a fair Way to have drove me out on the 10th, if he had play'd his Game well; so suspected was the Name of *Conde* by the People. As there wanted a little time to reconcile them, I thought it was our only way to keep fair with Monsieur *d' Elbeuf*, and to convince him, that it would be his Interest to join with the Prince of *Conti*, and Monsieur *de Longueville*. I accordingly sent to acquaint him, that I intended him a Visit; but when I came, he was gone to the Parliament-House, where the first President, who was against removing to *Montargis*, and at the same time, very averse to a civil War, embrac'd him, and without giving the Members time to consider what was urg'd by *Broussel*, *Viole*, and others to the contrary, caused him to be declar'd General, with a Design meerly to divide and weaken the Party.

Upon this, I made haste to the Palace of *Longueville*, to perswade the Prince of *Conti* and Monsieur *de Longueville*, to go that very instant to the Parliament-house; the latter was never in haste; and the Prince being gone tir'd to Bed, 'twas with much ado I prevail'd on him to rise. In short, he was so long a setting out, that the Parliament was up, and Monsieur *d' Elbeuf* was marching to the Town-house to be sworn, and to take care of the Commissions, that were there to be deliver'd out. I thereupon perswaded the Prince of *Conti* to go to the Parliament-House in the Afternoon, and to offer them his Service, while I stay'd without in the Hall to observe the Disposition of the People.

He went thither accordingly in my Coach, and with my grand Livery, by which he made it appear, that he reposed his Confidence intirely in the People; *Whom there is a Necessity of managing with*

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a World of Precaution, because of their natural Diffidence and Instability. When we came to the House, we were saluted upon the Stairs with, *God bless the Coadjutor*; but except those posted there on purpose, not a Soul cried, *God bless the Prince of* Conti; from whence I concluded, that the Bulk of the People were not yet cured of their Diffidence, and therefore I was very glad when I had got the Prince into the Grand-Chamber. The Moment after came in Monsieur *d' Elbeuf*, with the City Guards, who attended him as General, and with all the People, crying out, *God bless his Highness Monsieur* d' Elbeuf; but as they cried at the same time, *God save the* Coadjutor, I address'd my self to him with a Smile, and said: *This is an Eccho, Sir, which does me a great deal of Honour. You are mighty Civil*, said he, and turning to the Guards, bad them stay at the Door of the great Chamber. I took the Order as given to my self, and staid there likewise with a great Number of my Friends. As soon as the House was sat, the Prince of *Conti* stood up, and said, "That having been at St. *Ger-*"*mains*, and acquainted with the pernicious "Counsels given to the Queen, he thought him-"self oblig'd, as Prince of the Blood, to oppose "them. Monsieur *d' Elbeuf*, who was Proud and Insolent, like all weak Men, because he thought he had the strongest Party, said, *He knew the Respect due to the Prince of* Conti, *but that he could not forbear telling them, that it was himself who first broke the Ice, and offer'd his Service to the Parliament, who having conferr'd the General's Battoon upon him, he would never part with it but with his Life.*

The generality of the Members, who were as distrustful of the Prince of *Conti* as the People, applauded this Declaration, and the Parliament pass'd an Arret, forbidding the Troops, on pain of

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of High-Treason, to advance within Twenty Miles of *Paris*. I saw all that I could do that Day, was to reconduct the Prince of *Conti* in safety, to the Palace of *Longueville*, for the Crowd was so great, that I was fain to carry him as it were in my Arms out of the Grand Chamber.

Monsieur *d' Elbeuf*, who thought the Day was all his own, hearing my Name join'd with his, in the Huzza's of the People, said to me, by way of Reprisal, *This, Sir, is an Ecche which does me a great deal of Honour*; to which I reply'd, as he did to me before, *Sir, you are wondrous civil.* Mean time, he was not wise enough to improve the Opportunity, and I foresaw that Things would soon take another turn. For, *Reputation among the People, which has been of long standing, never fails to blast the tender Blossoms of publick Benevolence, which are forc'd out by meer Chance.*

I had advice sent me from Madame *de Lesdiguieres*, at St. *Germains*, that Monsieur *d' Elbeuf*, an Hour after he heard of the Arrival of the Prince of *Conti*, and Monsieur *de Longueville*, at *Paris*, writ a Letter to the Abbot *la Riviere*, with these Words: "Tell the Queen, and the "Duke of *Orleans*, that *this Devilish* Coadjutor "is the Ruin of every thing here, and that "in two Days I shall have no Power at all; but "that if they will be kind to me, I will make "them sensible, I am not come hither with so "bad a Design as they imagine. I made a very good Use of this Advice, and knowing that the People are generally fond of every thing that seems Mysterious, I imparted the Secret to four or five Hundred Persons. I had the Pleasure to hear, that the Confidence which the Prince had reposed in the People, by going about all alone in my Coach, without any Attendance, had won their Hearts.

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At Midnight, Monsieur *de Longueville*, Mareschal *de la Mothe*, and my self, went to Monsieur *de Bouillon*, whom we found as fickle as the then State of Affairs; but when we shew'd him our Plan, and how easily it might be executed, he join'd us immediately. We concerted Measures, and I gave out Orders to all the Colonels and Captains of my Acquaintance.

The most dangerous Blow that I gave to Monsieur *d'Elbeuf* was, by making the People believe, that he held Correspondence with the King's Troops, who, on the 9th at Night, surpriz'd *Charenton*; I met him on the first Report of it, when he said, *Would you think there are People so wicked as to say, that I had a Hand in the Surprisal of* Charanton! I said in Answer; *Would you think there are People vile enough to report, that the Prince of* Conti *is come hither by Concert with the Prince of* Conde?

When I saw the People pretty well cured of their Diffidence, and not so zealous as they were for Monsieur *d'Elbeuf*, I was for mincing the Matter no longer, and thought that Ostentation would be as proper to Day, as Reservedness was, Yesterday. The Prince of *Conti* carry'd M. *de Longueville* to the Parliament-house, where he offer'd them his Services, together with all *Normandy*, and desired they would accept of his Wife, Son, and Daughter, and keep them in the Town-house as Pledges of his Sincerity. He was seconded by M. *de Bouillon*, who said, he was exceeding glad to serve the Parliament under the Command of so great a Prince as the Prince of *Conti*. Monsieur *d'Elbeuf* was nettled at this Expression, and repeated what he said before, that he would not part with the General's Staff; and he shew'd more Warmth than Judgment in the whole Debate. He spoke nothing to the purpose; it was too late to dispute, and he was oblig'd

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to yield; but I have obſerv'd that *Fools never yield but when they can't help it.* We try'd his Impatience a third time, by the Appearance of Mareſchal *de la Mothe*, who paſs'd the ſame Compliment upon the Company as *Bouillon* had done. We had concerted before, that theſe Perſonages ſhould make their Appearance upon the Theatre ſucceſſively one after another; for we had remark'd, that *nothing ſo much affects the People, and even the Parliament, of whom the People are a Majority, as a variety of Scenes.*

I carried Madame *de Longueville* and Madame *de Bouillon* in a Coach, by way of Triumph, to the Town-Houſe. They were both ſhining Beauties, and appear'd the more Charming, becauſe of a careleſs Air, the more becoming to both, becauſe it was unaffected. Each held one of their Children in her Arms, beautiful as the Mother. The Place was ſo full of People, that the very Tops of the Houſes were cover'd, all the Men ſhouted, and the Women wept for Joy and Affection. I threw five Hundred Piſtoles out of the Window of the Town-Houſe; and went again to the Parliament-Houſe, accompanied by an infinite Number of People, ſome with Arms, and others without. Monſieur *d' Elbeuf*'s Captain of the Guards told his Maſter, that he was ruin'd to all Intents and Purpoſes, if he did not accommodate his Affairs; which was the Reaſon that I found him much perplex'd and dejected, eſpecially when Monſieur *de Bellievre*, who had amus'd him hitherto deſignedly, came in and ask'd, *What meant the beating of the Drums?* I anſwer'd, *That he would hear more very ſoon, and that all honeſt Men were quite out of Patience with Men that ſow'd Diviſions among the People.* I ſaw then, *that Wit, in Affairs of Moment, is nothing without Courage.* Monſieur *d' Elbeuf*

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had little Courage at this Juncture, made a ridiculous Explanation of what he had said before, granted more than he was desired, and it was owing to the Civility and good Sense of Monsieur *de Bouillon*, that he retain'd the Title of General, and the Precedency with Messieurs *de Bouillon*, and *de la Motte*, who were equally Generals with himself, under the Prince of *Conti*, who was from that Instant declar'd Generalissimo of the King's Forces, under the Direction of the Parliament.

There happen'd, at this Time, a comical Scene in the Town-House, which I the rather mention, because of its Consequence. *Noirmoutier*, who, the Night before, was made Lieutenant General, returning by the Town-House from a Sally which he had made into the Suburbs, to drive away *Mazarin*'s Skirmishers, (as they were called) enter'd with three Officers in Armour, into the Chamber of Madame *de Longueville*, which was full of Ladies; the Mixture of blue Scarves, Ladies, Cuirassiers, Fiddlers, and Trumpeters in and about the Hall, was such a Sight, as we seldom meet with but in Romances, *Noirmoutier*, who was a great Admirer of *Astrea*, said, he imagin'd that we were besieg'd in *Marcilli*. *Well you may*, said I, *Madame* de Longueville *is as fair as* Galatea, *but* Marsillac (Son to Monsieur *de la Rochefoucaut*) *is not a Man of so much Honour as* Lindamor. I fancied I was over-heard by one in a neighbouring Window, who might tell it to M. *de la Rochefoucaut*, for otherwise, I cannot guess at the first Cause of the Hatred which he afterwards bore to me.

Before I proceed in giving you the Detail of the Civil War, suffer me to lead you into the Gallery, where you, who are an Admirer of fine Painting, will be entertain'd with the Figures of

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of the chief Actors, drawn all at length in their proper Colours, and you will be able to judge, by the Hiſtory, whether they are painted to the Life. Let us begin, as it is but juſt, with Her Majeſty.

The Character of the Queen.

The Queen excell'd in that kind of Wit which was neceſſary for her turn, to the end ſhe might not appear ſilly before Strangers; ſhe had more ill Nature than Pride, more Pride than real Grandeur, and more of Shew than Subſtance; ſhe lov'd Money too well to be Liberal, and her own Intereſt too well to be impartial; was more of the conſtant, than of the paſſionate Lover; more implacable than cruel; and more mindful of Injuries than of good Offices. She had more of the pious Intention, than of real Piety; more of Obſtinacy, than a well-grounded Reſolution; and a greater Meaſure of Incapacity, than of all the reſt.

Character of the Duke of *Orleans*.

The Duke of *Orleans* poſſeſs'd all the good Qualities neceſſary for a Man of Honour, except Courage; but having not one Quality eminent enough to make him much taken notice of, he had nothing in him to ſupply or ſupport his Foible, which was ſo predominant in his Heart through Fear, and in his Mind through Irreſolution, that it tarniſh'd the whole Courſe of his Life. He engaged in all Affairs, becauſe he had not Power to reſiſt the Importunities of thoſe Perſons who drew him in for their own Advantage, and came off always with Shame, for want of Courage to go on. His ſuſpicious Temper, even from his Childhood, deaden'd thoſe lively gay Colours which would have ſhone out naturally with the Advantages of a fine bright Genius, an amiable Gracefulneſs, a very honeſt

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Diſpoſition, a perfect Diſintereſtedneſs, and an incredible Eaſineſs of Behaviour.

Character of the Prince of *Conde*.

The Prince of *Conde* was born a General, an Honour none could ever boaſt of before, but *Cæſar*, and *Spinola*; he was equal to the firſt, but an overmatch to the ſecond. Intrepidity, is one of the leaſt Parts of his Character. Nature gave him a Genius as great as his Heart. It was his Fortune to be born in an Age of War, which gave him an Opportunity to diſplay his Courage in its full Extent; but his Birth, or rather Education, in a Family ſubmiſſively attach'd to the Cabinet, reſtrain'd his noble Genius within too narrow Bounds. There was no Care taken betimes to inſpire him with thoſe great and general Maxims which form and improve a Man of Parts. He had not time to acquire them by his own Application, becauſe he was prevented from his Youth by the unexpected Revolution, and by a conſtant Series of Succeſſes. This one Imperfection, though he had as pure a Soul as any in the World, was the Reaſon that he did Things which were not to be juſtified; that as he had the Heart of *Alexander*, ſo he had his Infirmities; that he was guilty of unaccountable Follies; that having all the Talents of *Francis* of *Guiſe*, he did not ſerve the State upon ſome Occaſions, as well as he ought; and that having the Parts of *Henry* of *Conde*, his Name ſake, he did not puſh the Faction as far as he might have done; nor did he diſcharge all the Duties his extraordinary Merit demanded from him.

Character of the Duke of *Longueville*.

Monſieur *de Longueville*, though he had the fine Name of *Orleans*, together with Vivacity, an agreeable Air, Generoſity, Liberality, Juſtice, Valour, and Grandeur, yet never made any extraordinary Figure in Life, becauſe his Idea's were infinitely above

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above his Capacity. If a Man has Abilities and great Deſigns, he is ſure to be look'd upon as a Man of ſome Importance; but if he does not carry them on, he is not much eſteem'd; which was the Caſe of *Longueville*.

Character of the Duke of *Beaufort*.

Monſieur *de Beaufort* knew little of Affairs of Moment, but by hearſay, and by what he had learnt in the Cabal of *Importants*, of whoſe Jargon he had retain'd a little Smattering, which, together with ſome Expreſſions he had learnt perfectly of Madame *de Vendôme*, form'd a Language that would have puzzled a *Cato*. His Diction was ſhort, and ſtupidly dull, and the more ſo, becauſe he obſcur'd it by Affectation. He thought himſelf very ſufficient, and pretended to a great deal more Wit than came to his Share. He was brave enough in his Perſon, and outdid the common Hectors, by being ſo upon all Occaſions; but never more *mal à propos*, than in Gallantry. And he talk'd and thought juſt as the People did, whoſe Idol he was for ſome time.

The Character of Monſieur *d' Elbeuf*.

Monſieur *d' Elbeuf* could not fail of Courage, as he was a Prince of the Houſe of *Lorrain*; he had all the Wit that a Man of abundance more Cunning and good Senſe could pretend to. He was a Medley of incoherent Flouriſhes. He was the firſt Prince debaſed by Poverty, and perhaps, never Man was more at a Loſs than he, to raiſe the Pity of the People in Miſery. A comfortable Subſiſtence did not raiſe his Spirits; and if he had been Maſter of Riches, he had been envy'd as a Leader of a Party. Poverty ſo well became him, that it ſeem'd as if he had been cut out for a Beggar.

Character of the Duke of *Bouillon*.

The Duke of *Bouillon*, was a Man of experienc'd Valour, and profound Senſe. I am fully perſwaded,

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by what I have ſeen of his Conduct, that thoſe who cry it down, wrong his Character; and it may be, others had too favourable Notions of his Merit, who thought him capable of all the great Things which he never did.

Character of Monſieur *de Turenne.*

Monſieur *de Turenne*, had all the good Qualities in his very Nature, and acquir'd all the great ones very early, thoſe only excepted, that he never thought of. Though almoſt all the Virtues were in a manner natural to him, yet he ſhone out in none. He was look'd upon as more proper to be at the Head of an Army, than of a Faction; for he was not naturally enterpriſing. He had in all his Conduct, as well as in his Way of Talking, certain Obſcurities, which he never explain'd but on particular Occaſions, and then only for his own Honour.

Character of Mareſchal *de la Mothe.*

The Mareſchal *de la Mothe*, was a Captain of the ſecond Rank, full of Mettle, but not a Man of much Senſe; he was affable and courteous in Civil Life, and a very uſeful Man in a Faction, becauſe of his wonderful Complacency.

Character of the Prince of *Conti.*

The Prince of *Conti* was a ſecond *Zero*, as he was a Prince of the Blood; That's his Character, with regard to the Publick; and as to his private Capacity, Wickedneſs had the ſame Effect in him, as Weakneſs had in Monſieur *d' Elbeuf*, and drowned his other Qualities, which were all mean, and tinctur'd with Folly.

Character of Monſieur *de Rochefoucaut.*

Monſieur *de Rochefoucaut*, had ſomething ſo odd in all his Conduct, that I know not what Name to give it. He lov'd to be engag'd in Intreagues from a Child. He was never capable to carry on any Affair, for what Reaſons I could not conceive; for he had Endowments, which, in another,

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ther, would have made amends for Imperfections. . . . . .

. . . . . He had not a long View of what was out of his Reach, nor a quick Apprehenſion of what was within it; but his ſound Senſe, very good in Speculation, his good Nature, his engaging and wonderful eaſie Behaviour, was enough to have made amends, more than it did, for his want of Penetration. He was habitually Wavering in his Reſolution; but what to attribute it to, I know not; for it could not come from his fertil Imagination, which was lively. Nor can I ſay it came from the Barrenneſs of Thought; for though he was not very curious in Action, yet he had a good Fund of Reaſon. The Effect of this Irreſolution is very viſible, tho' we don't know the Cauſe. He never was a Warriour, tho' a true Soldier: He never was a Courtier, tho' he had always a good Mind to be one: He never was a good Party Man, tho' his whole Life was engag'd in Party. He was very timerous and baſhful in Converſation, and thought he always ſtood in need of Apologies, which, conſidering that his Maxims ſhew'd no great Regard for Virtue, and that his Practice was always to get out of Affairs with the ſame Hurry as he got in, makes me conclude, that he would have done much better, if he had contented himſelf to have paſs'd, as he might have done, for the Politeſt Courtier, and the civilleſt Gentleman of his Age in Converſation.

Character of Madame *de Longueville*.

Madame *de Longueville*, had naturally a great Fund of Wit, and had moreover, all the fine Turns of it; but her indolent Temper kept her from making any Uſe of her Talents, either in Gallantries, or in her Hatred againſt the Prince of *Conde*. Her languiſhing Air had more Charms in it, than the moſt ſhining Beauty. She had few

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few or no Faults, beſides what ſhe contracted in her Gallantry. As her Paſſion of Love influenced her Conduct, more than Politicks, ſhe who was the Amazon of a great Party, degenerated to the Character of a Fortune-hunter. But the Grace of God recover'd her again, which all the World was not able to do.

Character of Madame *Chevreuſe.*

Madame * *Chevreuſe* had not ſo much as the Remains of Beauty, when I knew her; ſhe was the only Perſon I ever ſaw, whoſe Vivacity ſupplied the Want of Judgment; ſhe had ſome extraordinary bright Turns, ſo wiſe, that the greateſt Men of the Age would not have been aſham'd to own them, while, in Truth, they were owing to ſome lucky Opportunity. If ſhe had been born in Time of Peace, ſhe would never have imagined there could have been ſuch a thing as War. If the Prior of the *Carthuſians* had but pleas'd her, ſhe had been a Nun all her Life-Time. Monſieur *de* † *Lorrain* was the firſt that engaged her in State Affairs. The Duke of || *Buckingham*, and the Earl of *Holland*, (an *Engliſh* Lord, of the Family of *Rich*, and younger Son of the Earl of *Warwick*, then Ambaſſador in *France*,) kept her to them; Monſieur *de Chateauneuf* continued the Amuſement, till at laſt ſhe abandoned her ſelf to the pleaſing of a Perſon whom ſhe loved, without any Choice, and purely becauſe it was impoſſible for her to live, without

* Mary de Rohan, *Daughter to* Hercules de Rohan, *Duke of* Montbazon, *and* to Magdalen de Lenoncourt, *Born* 1600, *Married* 1617, *to* Charles d' Albert, *Duke of* Luine, *and in* 1621, *to* Claudius *of* Lorrain, *Duke of* Chevreuſe, *died in* Auguſt 1679.

† Charles *the 4th, Duke of* Lorrain, *died* 1675.

|| George Villiers, *Duke of* Buckingham, aſſaſſinated when preparing to ſuccour *Rochelle.*

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without being in love with ſome Body. It was no hard Task to give her one, to ſerve the Turn of the Faction; but as ſoon as ſhe accepted of him, ſhe lov'd him with all her Heart and Soul, and ſhe confeſſed, that by the Caprice of Fortune, ſhe never lov'd beſt where ſhe eſteem'd moſt, except the poor Duke of *Buckingham*. Notwithſtanding her Attachment to Love, which we may properly call her everlaſting Paſſion, notwithſtanding the Change of Objects, ſhe was peeviſh and touchy, almoſt to Diſtraction, but then ſhe came to herſelf again with Tranſports which were very agreeable; never was any Body leſs fearful of real Danger, and never had Woman more Contempt for Scruples and Ceremonies.

Character of Mademoiſelle *de Chevreuſe*.

Mademoiſelle *de Chevreuſe* was more Beautiful in her Perſon, than Charming in her Carriage, being naturally extreamly ſilly; her amorous Paſſion made her ſeem witty, ſerious, and agreeable only to him, whom ſhe was in love with; but ſhe ſoon treated him, as ſhe did her Petticoat, which to Day ſhe took into her Bed, and two hours after caſt into the Fire, out of pure Averſion.

Character of the Princeſs *Palatine*.

The Princeſs * *Palatine* had juſt as much Gallantry as Gravity. I believe ſhe had as great a Talent for State Affairs, as *Elizabeth*, Queen of *England*. I have ſeen her in the Faction, I have ſeen her in the Cabinet, and found her every where equally ſincere.

Cha-

* Anne de Gonzague Cleves, *Marry'd in* 1645, *to* Edward *of* Bavaria, *Prince Palatine of the* Rhine. *She was Daughter of* Charles, *Duke of* Mantua Neuers.

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Character of Madame *de Montbazon.*

Madame *de Montbazon* was a very great Beauty, only Modesty was visibly wanting in her Air; her big Looks, and her way of Talking, sometimes supply'd her want of Sense. She lov'd nothing more than her Pleasures, unless her private Interest; and I never knew a vicious Person that had so little Respect for Virtue.

Character of the first President.

If it were not a sort of Blasphemy to say that any Mortal of our Times had more Courage than the great *Gustavus Adolphus* and the Prince of *Conde*, I would venture to affirm it of Monsieur *Mole*, the first President; but his Wit was far inferior to his Courage. It is true, that he had no agreeable Pronunciation; but his Eloquence was such, that tho' it shock'd the Ear, it seiz'd the Imagination. He sought the Interest of the Publick preferably to all Things, not excepting the Interest of his own Family, which yet he loved too much for a Magistrate. He had not a Genius to see betimes the Good he was capable of doing, presumed too much upon his Authority, and imagin'd that he could moderate both the Court and Parliament; but he fail'd in both, made himself suspected by both; and thus with a Design to do Good, he did Evil; Prejudices contributed not a little to this, for I observed he was prejudiced to such a Degree, that he always judg'd of Actions by the Men, and scarce ever of Men by their Actions.

To return to our History. All the Companies having united, and settled the necessary Funds, a compleat Army was rais'd in *Paris* in a Week's time. The Bastile surrender'd after 5 or 6 Cannon Shot; and it was a pretty Sight, to see the Women carry their Chairs into the Garden where the Battery was, for the sake of seeing the Siege, just as if they went to hear a Sermon.

Mon-

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Monſieur *de Beaufort* having eſcaped from his Confinement, arriv'd this very Day in *Paris*. I found that his Impriſonment had not made him one jot the Wiſer. Indeed it had got him a Reputation, becauſe he bore it with Conſtancy, and made his Eſcape with Courage. It was alſo his Merit, not to have abandoned the Banks of the *Loire*, in a Time, when it abſolutely requir'd abundance of Skill and Courage to ſtay there. It is an eaſie Matter for thoſe who are diſgraced at Court, to make the beſt of their own Merit in the beginning of a Civil War. He had a Mind to form an Alliance with me, and knowing how to employ him advantageouſly, I prepoſſeſſed the People in his Favour, and aggravated the Contrivance which the Cardinal had form'd againſt him, by the Means of *du Hamel*.

As my Friendſhip was neceſſary to him, his was neceſſary to me; for my Profeſſion, in many Occaſions, being a Reſtraint upon me, I wanted a Man ſometimes to ſtand before me. Monſieur *de la Morbe* was ſo dependant on Monſieur *de Longueville*, that I could not paſs my Word for him. And Monſieur *de Bouillon* was not a Man to be governed.

We went together to wait on the Prince of *Conti*; we ſtopp'd the Coach in the Streets, where I proclaim'd the Name of M. *de Beaufort*, prais'd him, and ſhew'd him to the People; upon which, the People took fire in an Inſtant, the Women kiſs'd him, and the Crowd was ſo great, that we had much ado to get to the Town-Hall. The next Day he offer'd a Petition to the Parliament, deſiring he might have leave to juſtify himſelf againſt the Accuſation of his having form'd a Deſign againſt the Life of the Cardinal, which was granted, and he was accordingly clear'd next Day; and the Parliament iſſued out that

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that famous Arret for ſeizing all the Caſh of the Crown, in all the Publick and private Receipt Offices of the Kingdom, and employing it in the common Defence.

The Prince of *Conde* was enrag'd at the Declaration publiſh'd by the Prince of *Conti* and Monſieur *de Longueville*, which caſt the Court, then at *St. Germains*, into ſuch a Deſpair, that the Cardinal was upon the Point of retiring. I was abuſed there without Mercy, as appear'd by a Letter ſent to Madame *Longueville*, from the Princeſs her Mother; in which I read this Sentence, *They rail here plentifully againſt the Coadjutor, whom yet I cannot forbear thanking, for what he has done for the poor Queen of* England. This Circumſtance is very curious. You muſt know, that a few Days before the King left *Paris*, I viſited the Queen of *England*, whom I found in the Apartment of her Daughter, ſince Madame *d' Orleans*. *You ſee, Sir*, ſaid the Queen, *I come to keep* Henrietta *Company, the poor Child has lain in Bed all Day for want of a Fire.* The Truth is, the Cardinal having ſtopp'd the Queen's Penſion ſix Months, Tradeſmen were unwilling to give her Credit, and there was not a Chip of Wood in the Houſe. You may be ſure, I took care that a Princeſs of *Great Britain* ſhould not be confined to her Bed next Day, for want of a Faggot. And a few Days after, I exaggerated the Scandal of this Deſertion, and the Parliament ſent the Queen a Preſent of forty Thouſand Livres. Poſterity will hardly believe, that the Queen of *England*, Grand Daughter to *Henry* the Great, wanted a Faggot to get out of Bed, in the Month of *January*, in the *Louvre*, and at the Court of *France*. There are many Paſſages in Hiſtory leſs Monſtrous than this, which give one Horror, and this mean Action of the Court, made ſo little Impreſſion upon the Minds of the Generality,

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rality of the People at that time, that I have reflected a Thousand Times since: *That we are more mov'd by far, at the Hearing of old Stories, than those of the present time.* We are not shock'd at what we see with our own Eyes; and I question, whether our surprize would be so great as we imagine, at the Story of *Caligula*'s promoting his Horse to the Dignity of a Consul, were he and his Horse now living.

To return to the War. A Cornet of my Regiment being taken Prisoner, and carry'd to St. *Germain*, the Queen immediately order'd his Head to be cut off; but I sent a Trumpeter to acquaint the Court, that I would make Reprisals upon my Prisoners; so that my Cornet was exchang'd, and a Cartel settled.

As soon as *Paris* declar'd it self, all the Kingdom was in a Quandary; for the Parliament of *Paris* sent Circular Letters to all the Parliaments and Cities in the Kingdom, exhorting them to join against the common Enemy; upon which, the Parliaments of *Aix* and *Roan* join'd with that of *Paris*. The Prince of *Harcourt*, now Duke of *Elbeuf*, and the Cities of *Rheims*, *Tours*, and *Poictiers*, took up Arms in its Favour. The Duke *de la Tremouille* rais'd Men for them publickly. The Duke of *Retz* offer'd his Service to the Parliament, together with *Belle Isle*. *Le Mans* expell'd its Bishop, and all the *Lavardin* Family, which was in the Interest of the Court

The 18th of *January*, 1649, I was admitted to a Seat and Vote in Parliament, and sign'd an Association with the chief Leaders of the Party, viz. Messiurs *de Beaufort*, *de Bouillon*, *de la Mothe*, *de Noirmoutier*, *de Vitri*, *de Brissac*, *de Maure*, *de Matha*, *de* * *Cugnac*, *de Barnire*, *de Sillery*, *de la Roche-*

* Antony de Cugnac, *Marquis of* Dampiere.

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Rochefoucaut, de Laigues, de Sevigny, de Berthune, de Luines, de Chaumont, de St. Germain, d' Action, and *de Fiesque.*

On the 9*th* of *February,* the Prince of *Conde* attack'd and took *Charenton.* During this, all the Country People flock'd to *Paris* with Provisions, not only because there was Plenty of Money, but to enable the Citizens to hold out against the Siege, which was begun on the 9*th* of *January.*

On the 12*th* of *February,* a Herald came with two Trumpeters from the Court, to one of the City Gates, bringing three Packets of Letters, one for the Parliament, one for the Prince of *Conti,* and the third for the Town-House. 'Twas but the Night before that a Person was taken in the Halls, dropping Libels against the Parliament and me; upon which, the Parliament, Princes, and City, suppos'd that this State Visit was nothing but an Amusement of Cardinal *Mazarin,* to cover a worse Design; and therefore resolved not to receive the Message, nor give the Herald Audience, but to send the King's Council to the Queen, to represent to Her, that their Refusal was out of pure Obedience and Respect; because Heralds are never sent but to Sovereign Princes, or publick Enemies; and that the Parliament, the Prince of *Conti,* and the City, were neither the one nor the other. At the same time the Chevalier *de la Valette,* who dispers'd the Libels, had form'd a Design to kill me and Monsieur *de Beaufort,* upon the Parliament Stairs, in the great Crowd which they expected would attend the Appearance of the Herald. The Court indeed always denied his having any other Commission, than to disperse the Libels; but I am certain, that the Bishop of *Dole* told the Bishop of *Aire,* but a Night or

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or two before, that *Beaufort* and I ſhould not be among the Living three Days hence.

The King's Counſellors returned with a Report how kindly they had been receiv'd at St. *Germain*. They ſaid, the Queen highly approv'd of the Reaſons offer'd by the Parliament for refuſing Entrance to the Herald, and that ſhe had aſſur'd them, that tho' ſhe could not own the Parliament (in the preſent State of Affairs;) yet ſhe receiv'd, with Joy, the Aſſurances they had given Her of their Reſpect and Submiſſion; and that ſhe would diſtinguiſh them in general and particular, by ſpecial Marks of Her good Will. *Talon*, Advocate-General, who always ſpoke with Dignity and Force, dreſs'd up this Anſwer of the Queen with all the Ornaments he could give it, aſſuring the Parliament, in very pathetic Terms, that if they would be pleas'd to ſend a Deputation to St. *Germain*, it would be very kindly receiv'd, and might, perhaps, be a great Step toward a Peace.

When I ſaw that we were beſieged; that the Cardinal had ſent a Perſon into *Flanders*, to treat with the *Spaniards*; and that our Party was now ſo well form'd, that there was no Danger, that I alone ſhould be charg'd with courting the Alliance of the Enemies of the State; I was no more ſcrupulous on this Head, but judg'd, that as Affairs ſtood, I might with Honour hear what Propoſals the *Spaniards* would make me for the Relief of *Paris*; but I took Care not to have my Name mention'd, and that the firſt Overtures ſhould be made to Monſieur *d' Elbeuf*, who was the fitteſt Perſon, becauſe, during the Miniſtry of Cardinal *Richelieu*, he was twelve or fifteen Years in *Flanders* a Penſioner to *Spain*; accordingly *Arnolfi*, a *Bernardin* Fryar, was ſent from the Arch-Duke *Leopold*, Governour of the *Spaniſh* Netherlands for the King of *Spain*, to the Duke *d' Elbeuf*, who, upon ſight

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of his Credentials, thought himself the most considerable Man of the Party, invited the Chief of us to Dinner, and told us, he had a very important Matter to lay before us; but that such was his Tenderness for the *French* Name, that he could not open so much as a small Letter from a suspected Quarter, which, after some scrupulous and mysterious Circumlocutions, he ventur'd to name, and we agreed one and all, not to refuse the Succours from *Spain*; but the great Difficulty was, which way to get them. *Fuensaldagne*, the General, was inclinable to join us, if he could have been sure that we would engage with him; but as there was no possibility of the Parliaments treating with him, nor no Dependance upon the Generals, some of whom were wavering and whimsical, Madame *de Bouillon* press'd me not to hesitate any longer, but to join with her Husband, adding, that if he and I united, we should be so far an Overmatch for the others, that it would not be in their Power to give us any Pain.

Monsieur *de Bouillon* and I agreed to use our Interest to oblige the Parliament to hear what the Envoy had to say. I proposed it to the Parliament; but the first Motion of it was hiss'd, in a manner, by all the Company, as much as if it had been Heretical. The old President *Coigneux*, a Man of a quick Apprehension, observing that I sometimes mentioned a Letter from the Arch-Duke, of which there had been no Talk, declar'd himself suddenly to be of my Opinion. He had a secret Persuasion that I had seen some Writings which they knew nothing of, and therefore while both Sides were standing up very hot in Debate, he said to me: *Why don't you disclose your self to your Friends? they would come into your Measures. I see very well you know more of the Matter than the Person who thinks himself your Informer.* I Vow I was terribly asham'd of my Indiscretion. I squeez'd him by the

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the Hand, and wink'd at Meſſieurs *de Beaufort* and *de la Mothe*. At length, two other Preſidents came over to my Opinion, being throughly convinced, that Succours from *Spain*, at this Time, were a Remedy abſolutely neceſſary to our Diſeaſe; but a dangerous and Empyrick Medicine, and infallibly mortal to particular Perſons, if it did not paſs firſt through the Parliament's Alembick.

The *Bernardin* being tutor'd by us beforehand what to ſay, when he came before the Parliament, behav'd like a Man of good Senſe.

When he deſired Audience, or rather, when the Prince of *Conti* deſired it for him, the Preſident *de Meſmes*, a Man of a great Capacity, but by Fear and Ambition moſt ſlaviſhly attach'd to the Court, made an eloquent and pathetic Harangue, preferable to any thing I ever met with of the Kind in all the Monuments of Antiquity; and turning about to the Prince of *Conti*, *Is it poſſible, Monſieur*, ſaid he, *that a Prince of the Blood of* France, *ſhould propoſe to let a Perſon deputed from the moſt bitter Enemy of the* Flowers de Lys, *have a Seat upon thoſe Flowers?* Then turning to me, he ſaid, *What, Sir, will you refuſe Entrance to your Sovereign's Herald upon the moſt trifling Pretexts?* —— I knew what was coming, and therefore I endeavour'd to ſtop his Mouth by this Anſwer: *Sir, you will excuſe me from calling thoſe Reaſons frivolous, which have had the Sanction of an Arret.* The Bulk of the Parliament was provoked at the Preſident's unguarded Expreſſion; baited him very fiercely, and then I made ſome Pretence to go out, leaving *Quatreſous*, a young Man, of the moſt warm Temper in the Houſe, to Skirmiſh with him in my ſtead, as having experienced more than once, that the only Way to get any thing of Moment paſs'd in Parlia-

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mentary or other Aſſemblies, is to exaſperate the young Men againſt the old ones.

In ſhort, after many Debates, it was carry'd, that the Envoy ſhould be admitted to Audience. Being accordingly admitted, and bid to be cover'd, and ſit down, he preſented the Arch-Duke's Credentials, and then made a Speech, in Subſtance, *viz.* "That his Maſter had or-"der'd him to acquaint the Company, of a "Negotiation offer'd him by Cardinal *Mazarin*, "ſince the Blockade of *Paris*; which his Ca-"tholick Majeſty did not think conſiſtent with "his Safety or Honour to accept, when he ſaw, "that on the one Hand, it was with a View "to oppreſs the Parliament, which was held "in Veneration by all the Kingdoms in the "World; and on the other, that all Treaties "made with a condemn'd Miniſter, would be "null and void, foraſmuch as they were made "without the Concurrence of the Parliament, "to whom only it belong'd to Regiſter and Ve-"rifie Treaties of Peace, in order to make them "ſure and authentic. That the Catholick King, "who propos'd to take no Advantage from the "preſent State of Affairs, had order'd the Arch-"Duke to aſſure the Parliament, whom he "knew to be in the true Intereſt of the moſt "Chriſtian King, that he heartily acknowledg'd "them to be the Arbiters of Peace; that he "ſubmitted to their Judgment; and that if they "thought proper to be the Judges, he left it "to their Choice, to ſend a Deputation out of "their own Body, to what Place they pleas'd, "*Paris* it ſelf not excepted; and that his Ca-"tholick Majeſty would alſo, without Delay, "ſend his Deputies thither to meet and treat with "them. That mean while he had order'd 18000 Men "to march towards their Frontiers, to relieve

"them

" them in case of need; with Orders nevertheless to commit no Hostilities upon the Towns, " *&c.* of the most Christian King, though they " were for the most part abandoned; and it " being his Resolution at this Juncture, to shew " his sincere Inclination for Peace, he gave them " his Word of Honour, that his Armies should " not stir during the Treaty. But that in case " his Troops might be serviceable to the Parliament, they were at their disposal, to be " commanded by *French* Officers; and that to obviate all the reasonable Jealousies generally attending the Conduct of Foreigners, they were " at their Liberty to take all other Precautions " they should think proper.

Before his Admission, the President *de Mesmes* had loaded me with Invectives, for secretly corresponding with the Enemies of the State, for favouring his Admission, and for opposing that of my Sovereign's Herald.

I had observed, that when the Objections against a Man are capable of making greater Impression than his Answers, 'tis his only way to say but little; and that, he may talk as much as he pleases when he thinks his Answers of greater Force than the Objections. I kept exactly to this Rule, for tho' the said President artfully pointed his Satyr at me, I sate as unconcerned, till I found the Parliament was charm'd with what the Envoy had said; and then, in my Turn, I was even with the President, by telling him in short, " That my Re" spect for the Parliament had oblig'd me to " put up with his Sarcasms, which I had hi" therto dissembled; that I did not suppose he " meant, that his Sentiments should always be " a Law to the Parliament; that no Body there " had a greater Esteem for him, with which, I " hop'd, the innocent Freedom I had taken to

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" ſpeak my Mind, was not inconſiſtent. That " as to the Non-admiſſion of the Herald, had " it not been for the Motion made by Mon- " ſieur *Brouſſel*, I had fallen into the Snare, " through an over-credulity, and have given " my Vote for that, which might perhaps have " ended in the Deſtruction of the City, and in- " volved my ſelf in what is ſince fully proved to be " a Crime, by the Queen's late ſolemn Approba- " tion of the contrary Conduct; and that as to " the Envoy, I was ſilent, till I ſaw moſt Voices " were for giving him Audience, when I thought " it better to Vote the ſame Way, than vain- " ly to conteſt it.

This modeſt and ſubmiſſive Anſwer of mine, to all the Scurrilities thrown upon me for a Fortnight together, by the firſt Preſident, and the Preſident *de Meſmes*, had an excellent Effect upon the Company, and obliterated for a long time the Jealouſies, they had begun to raiſe among the Members, *That I aim'd to govern them by my Cabals.* The Preſident *de Meſmes* would have replied, but his Words were drown'd in the general Clamour. The Clock ſtruck five, none had dined, and many had not broke their Faſt, which the Preſidents had, and therefore had the Advantage in Diſputation.

The Arret ordering the Admiſſion of the *Spaniſh* Envoy to Audience, directed that a Copy of what he ſpoke in Parliament, ſigned with his own Hand, ſhould be demanded of him, to the End it might be Regiſtred, and that, by a ſolemn Deputation, it ſhould be ſent to the Queen, with an Aſſurance of the Fidelity of the Parliament, beſeeching Her at the ſame time, to withdraw Her Troops from the Neighbourhood of *Paris*, and to reſtore Peace to Her People. It being now very late, and the Company very hungry, (Circumſtances that have greater Influ-

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ence than can be imagin'd in Debates,) they were upon the Point of letting this Clause pass for want of due Attention. The President *le Coigneux* was the first that discover'd the grand Mistake, and addressing himself to a great many Counsellors, who were rising up, said: Gentlemen, *Pray take your Places again, for I have something to offer to the House, which is of the last Importance to all Europe.* When they had taken their Places, he spoke as follows:

"The King of *Spain* takes us for Arbiters of "the General Peace; it may be He is not in "Earnest; but yet 'tis a Compliment to tell us so. "He offers us Troops to march to our Relief, "and it is certain He does not banter us in "this Article, but highly obliges us. We have "heard his Envoy, and considering the Circum-"stances we are in, we were in the right so to "do. We have resolv'd to give an Account of "it to the King, and it is but reasonable; "some imagine, that we propose to send the "Original Arret; but here lies the Snake "in the Grass: I protest, Sir, said he, turn-"ing to the first President, that the Company "did not understand it so, but that the Copy "only should be carried to Court, and the O-"riginal be kept in the Register. I could wish "there had been no occasion for Explanation, be-"cause there are some Affairs, when it is not prudent "to speak all that one thinks; but since I am "forc'd to it, I must say it without farther he-"sitation, that in case we deliver up the Ori-"ginal, the *Spaniards* will conclude, that we ex-"pose their Proposals for a general Peace, and "our own safety, to the Caprice of Cardi-"nal *Mazarin*: Whereas, by delivering only a "a Copy, accompanied with humble Remon-"strances for a general Peace, as the Parlia-"ment has wisely order'd, all *Europe* will see

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" that we maintain our ſelves in a Condition
" capable of doing real Service both to our King
" and Country, if the Cardinal is ſo blind as
" not to make a right Advantage of this Op-
" portunity.

This Diſcourſe was receiv'd with the Approbation of all the Members, who cry'd out from all Corners of the Houſe, that this was the Meaning of the Houſe; the Gentlemen of the Court of Inqueſts did not ſpare the Preſidents. Monſieur *Martineau* ſaid publickly, that the Tenor of this Arret was, that the Envoy of *Spain* ſhould be made much of, till they receiv-ed an Anſwer from St. *Germain*, which could be no other than one of the Quirks of the Cardinal. *Pontcarre* ſaid, he was not ſo much afraid of a *Spaniard* as of a *Mazarin*. In ſhort, the Generals had the Satisfaction to ſee, that the Parliament would not be ſorry for any Advances they ſhould make towards an Alliance with *Spain*.

We ſent a Courier to *Bruſſels*, who was guard-ed 10 Leagues out of *Paris* by 500 Horſe, with an Account of every thing done in Parliament, of the Conditions which the Prince of *Conti* and the other Generals deſired, for entring into a Treaty with *Spain*, and of what Engagement I could make in my own private Capacity.

After he was gone, I had a Conference with M. *Bouillon* and his Lady, about the preſent State of Affairs, which I obſerv'd was very tickliſh: " That if we were favour'd by the general In-
" clination of the People, we ſhould carry all
" before us; but that the Parliament, which
" was our chief Strength in one Senſe, was in
" other reſpects, our main Weakneſs. That they
" were very apt to go backward, and that in the
" very laſt Debate they had like to have twiſt-
" ed a Rope for their own Necks, and that the
" firſt it

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" firſt Preſident would ſhew *Mazarin* his true " Intereſts, and be glad to amuſe us, by ſti- " pulating with the Court for our Security, with- " out putting us in Poſſeſſion of it, and by end- " ing the Civil War in the Confirmation of our " Slavery. The Parliament, I ſaid, inclines to an " inſecure and ſcandalous Peace: We can make " the People riſe to Morrow, if we pleaſe; but " ought we to attempt it? And if we diveſt " the Parliament of its Authority, into what an " Abyſs of Diſorders ſhall we not precipitate " *Paris?* But on the other Hand, if we don't " raiſe the People, will the Parliament ever be- " lieve we can? Will they be hindred from " making any further Steps in Favour of the " Court, deſtructive indeed to their own Intereſt, " but infallibly ruinous to us firſt.

Monſieur *de Bouillon*, who did not believe our Affairs to be in ſo ſlippery a Scituation, was, together with his Lady, in a very great Surprize. The mild and honourable Anſwer which the Queen returned to the King's Counſellors, in relation to the Herald, Her Proteſtations that ſhe ſincerely forgave all the World, and the ſhining Gloſs of *Talon* upon her ſaid Anſwer, did, in an Inſtant, overturn the former Reſolutions of the Parliament; and if they regain'd ſometimes their wonted Vigour, either by ſome intervening Accidents, or by the skilful Management of thoſe that took care to bring them back to the right Way, they had ſtill an Inclination to recede. Monſieur *de Bouillon* being the wiſeſt Man of the Party, I told him what I thought, and with him I concerted proper Meaſures. To the reſt, I put on a chearful Air, and magnified every little Circumſtance of Affairs to our own Advantage.

M. *de Bouillon* propoſed, that we ſhould let the Parliament and Town-Houſe go on in their own Way, and endeavour all we could underhand to make

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make them odious to the People; and that we ſhould take the firſt Opportunity to ſecure, by Baniſhment or Impriſonment, ſuch Perſons as we could not depend on. He added, that *Longueville* too was of Opinion, that there was no Remedy left but to *purge the Houſes*. This was exactly like him; for never was there a Man ſo poſitive and violent in his Opinion, and yet no Man living could palliate it with ſmoother Language. Tho' I thought of this Expedient before Monſieur *de Bouillon*, and perhaps could have ſaid more for it, becauſe I ſaw the poſſibility of it much clearer than he; yet I would not give him to underſtand that I had thought on it, becauſe I knew he had the Vanity to love to be eſteemed the firſt Author of Things, which was the only Weakneſs I obſerved in his managing of State Affairs. I left him an Anſwer in Writing, in Subſtance as follows:

"I confeſs the Scheme is very feaſible, but "attended with pernicious Conſequences, both to "the Publick, and to private Perſons; for the "ſame People, whom you employ to humble "the Magiſtracy, will refuſe you Obedience, "when you demand of them the ſame Homage "they paid to the Magiſtrates. This People a-"dored the Parliament till the beginning of the "War; they are ſtill for continuing the War, "and they abate their Friendſhip for the Parlia-"ment. The Parliament imagine that it cools "only to ſome particular Members, who are "*Mazarin'd*; but they are deceiv'd, for their "Prejudice extends to the whole Company; and "their Hatred towards *Mazarin*'s Party, ſupports "and ſcreens their Indifference towards all the "reſt. We chear up their Spirits by Paſqui-"nades and Ballads, and the martial Sound of "Trumpets, and Kettle Drums; but after all, "do they pay their Taxes as punctually as they

"did

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" did the first Weeks? Are there many that " have done like you and I, Sir, who sent our " Plate to the Mint? Don't you observe, that " they who would be thought zealous for the " common Cause, plead in Favour of some " Facts committed by those Men, who are in " short its Enemies? If the People are so tired " already, what must they be long before they " come to their Journey's end?

" After we have establish'd our own Autho- " rity upon the Ruine of the Parliament's, we " shall fall infallibly into the same Inconvenien- " cies, and be oblig'd to act just as they do now. " We shall impose Taxes, raise Monies, and dif- " fer from the Parliament only in this, " that the Hatred and Envy they have con- " tracted, by various Ways, from one third " Part of the People, I mean, the wealthy Ci- " tizens, in the Space of six Weeks, will devolve " on us, with that of the other two thirds of " the Inhabitants, and will compleat our Ruin " in one Week. May not the Court to Mor- " row, put an End to the Civil War, by the " Expulsion of *Mazarin*, and by raising the " Siege of *Paris*? The Provinces are not yet " sufficiently inflamed, and therefore we must " double our Application to make the most of " *Paris*. Besides the Necessity of Treating with " *Spain*, and managing the People, there is ano- " ther Expedient come into my Head, capable of " rendring us as considerable in Parliament as our " Affairs require. We have an Army in *Paris*, " which will be look'd upon as the People, so long " as it continues within its Walls. Every Coun- " sellor of Inquest is inclin'd to believe his Au- " thority among the Soldiers, to be equal to that " of the Generals. But the Leaders of the Peo- " ple are not believed to be very powerful, until

" they

"they make their Power known by its Execu-
"tion. Pray do but consider the Conduct of the
"Court upon this Occasion? Was there any
"Minister or Courtier but ridiculed all that
"could be said of the Disposition of the Peo-
"ple in Favour of the Parliament, even to the
"Day of the Barricades? And yet it is as
"true, that every Man at Court saw infallible
"Marks of the Revolution beforehand. One
"would have thought that the Barricadoes
"should have convinced them; but have they
"been convinced? Have they been hindred
"from besieging *Paris*, on a slight Supposition,
"that tho' the Caprice of the People might
"run them into a Mutiny, yet it would not
"break out into a Civil War? What we are
"now doing, might undeceive them effectually;
"But are they yet cur'd of their Infatuation?
"Is not the Queen told every Day, that none
"are for the Parliament but hired Mobs,
"and that all the wealthy Burghers are in Her
"Majesty's Interests?

"The Parliament is now as much infa-
"tuated as the Court was then. This present
"Disturbance among the People, carries in it
"all the Marks of Power, which, in a little
"Time, they will feel the Effects of, and which,
"as they cannot but foresee, they ought to
"prevent in Time, because of the Murmurs of
"the People against them, and their redoubled
"Affection for Monsieur *de Beaufort* and me.
"But far from it, the Parliament will never
"open its Eyes, until all its Authority is quash-
"ed by a sudden Blow. If they see we have a
"Design against them, they will perhaps have
"so inconsiderable an Opinion of it, that they
"will take Courage; and if we should but flinch,
"they will bear harder still upon us, till

"we

"we shall be forced to crush them; but this "would not turn to our Account; on the con- "trary, 'tis our true Interest to do them all "the Good we can, least we divide our own "Party; and to behave in such a Manner, as "may convince them, that our Interest and "theirs is inseparable. And the best Way is, "to draw our Army out of *Paris*, and to Post "it so, as it may be ready to secure our Con- "voys, and be safe from the Insults of the E- "nemy; and I am for having this done at the "Request of the Parliament, to prevent their "taking Umbrage, till such time at least, as "we may find our Account in it. Such Pre- "cautions will insensibly, as it were, necessitate "the Parliament to act in Concert with us; and "our Favour among the People, which is the "only thing that can fix us in that Situation, "will appear to them no more contemptible, "when they see it back'd by an Army, which is "no more at their Discretion.

M. *de Bouillon* told me, that M. *de Turenne* was upon the Point of declaring for us, and that there were but two Colonels in all his Army who gave him any Uneasiness; but that in a Week's time, he would find some Way or other to manage them, and that then he would march directly to our Assistance. What do you think of this, said the Duke? Are not we now Masters both of the Court and Parliament?

I told the Duke I had just seen a Letter writ by * *Hoquincourt* to Madame *de Montbazon*, wherein were only these Words: *O fairest of all Beauties,*

* Charles de Monchi, *Marquis of* Hoquincourt, *Governour of* Peronne, *and Mareschal of* France, *Anno* 1651, *and kill'd before* Dunkirk, *Anno* 1658.

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ties, Peronne *is in your Power.* I added, that I had receiv'd another Letter that Morning, which assured me of *Mazieres*. Madame *de Bouillon* threw herself about my Neck; we were sure the Day was our own, and in a quarter of an Hour agreed upon all the Preliminary Precautions.

M. *de Bouillon* perceiving that I was so overjoy'd at this News, that I gave little Attention, as well as his Lady, to the Methods he was proposing, for drawing the Army out of *Paris*, without alarming the Parliament, turn'd to me, and spoke thus very hastily, *I pardon my Wife, but I can't forgive you this Inadvertency. The old Prince of* Orange *used to say, that the Moment one receiv'd good News, should be employ'd in providing against Bad.*

The 24*th* of *February* 1649, the Parliament's Deputies waited on the Queen, with an Account of the Audience granted to the Envoy of the Arch-Duke. The Queen told them, that they should not have given Audience to the Envoy; but that seeing they had done it, 'twas absolutely necessary to think of a good Peace; that she was entirely well disposed; and the Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince of *Conde* promis'd the Deputies to open all the Passages, as soon as the Parliament should name Commissioners for the Treaty.

Flamarin being sent at the same time into the City from the Duke of *Orleans*, to condole the Queen of *England* on the Death of her Husband King *Charles* I. went, at *la Riviere*'s solicitation, to M. *de la Rochefoucaut*, whom he found in his Bed, sick of his Wounds, and quite fatigued with the Civil War, and perswaded him to come over to the Court Interest. He told *Flamarin*, that he had been drawn into this War much against his Inclination, and that had he returned from *Poitou* but two Months before the Siege of *Paris*, he had prevented Madame *de Longue-*

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ville's engaging in so vile a Cause; but that I had taken the Opportunity of his Absence to engage both her and the Prince of *Conti*; that he found the Engagements too far advanced to be possibly dissolved; that the Devilish Coadjutor would not hear any Terms of Peace, and also stopp'd the Ears of the Prince of *Conti*, and Madame *de Longueville*; and that himself could not act as he would, because of his ill State of Health. I was inform'd of *Mazarin*'s Negociations for the Court Interest; and as the Term of his Passport was expir'd, order'd the Provost *des Marchands* to command him to depart the City.

On the 27*th*, the first President reported to the Parliament what had pass'd at St. *Germain*. Monsieur *de Beaufort* and I had much ado to keep the People from entring the great Chamber, for they threatned to throw the Deputies into the River, and said, they had betray'd them, and had held Conferences with *Mazarin*. It was as much as we could do, to allay the Fury of the People, tho' at the same time the Parliament believ'd the Tumult was of our own raising. *This shews one Inconveniency of Popularity, viz. that what is committed by the Rabble, in spite of all your Endeavours to the contrary, will be still laid to your Charge.*

Mean while we met at the Duke of *Bouillon*'s, to consider what was best to be done, in this critical Juncture, between a People mad for War, a Parliament for Peace, and the *Spaniards* either for Peace or War, at our Expences, and for their own Advantage. There the Prince of *Conti* being instructed beforehand by Monsieur *de Rochefoucaut*, spoke for carrying on the War, but acted as if he was for a Peace; and upon the whole, I did not doubt but he waited for some Answer from St. *Germain*. Monsieur *d'Elbeuf* made

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made a silly Proposal, to send the Parliament in a Body to the *Bastile*. Monsieur *de Beaufort*, whom we could not entrust with any important Secret, because of Madame *de Montbazon*, who was very false, wonder'd that his and my Credit with the People was not made use of on this Occasion. It being very visible that the Parliament would greedily catch at the Treaty of Peace propos'd by the Court, it was in a manner impossible to answer those who urg'd, that the only Way to prevent it, was to hinder their Debates, by raising Tumults among the People. Monsieur *de Beaufort* held up both his Hands for it. Monsieur *d' Elbeuf*, who had lately receiv'd a Letter from *la Riviere*, full of Contempt, talk'd like an Officer of the Army. When I consider'd the great Risque I ran if I did not prevent a Tumult, which would certainly be laid at my Door; and that, on the other Hand, I did not dare to say all I could to hinder such Commotion, I was at a loss what to do. But considering the Temper of the Populace, who might have been up in Arms with a Word, from a Person of any Credit among us, I declared publickly, that I was not for altering our Measures, till we knew what we were to expect from the *Spaniards*.

I experienced on this Occasion, *That Civil Wars are attended with this great Inconveniency*, viz. *that there is more need of Caution in what we say to our Friends, than in what we do against our Enemies.* I did not fail to make the Company of my Mind, especially when Monsieur *de Bouillon* fell in with me, who was convinced that the Confusion which would happen in such a Juncture, would return with a Vengeance upon the Authors. But when the Company was gone, he told me, he was resolv'd to free himself from the Tyranny, or rather, Pedantry of the Parliament, as soon as the Treaty

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Treaty with *Spain* was concluded, as ſoon as Monſieur *de Turenne* had declar'd himſelf publickly, and as ſoon as our Army was got without the Walls of *Paris*. I anſwer'd, that upon Monſieur *de Turrenne*'s Declaration, I would promiſe him my Concurrence; but that till then I could not ſeparate from the Parliament, much leſs oppoſe them, without the Danger of being Baniſhed to *Bruſſels*. That as for his own Part, he might come off better, becauſe of his Knowledge in Military Affairs, and of the Settlements which *Spain* was able to give him; but nevertheleſs, I deſir'd him to remember Monſieur *de Aumale*, who fell into the Depth of Poverty, as ſoon as he had loſt all Protection but that of *Spain*; and conſequently, that it was his Intereſt as well as mine, to adhere to the Parliament, till we had ſecured our ſelves ſome Eſtabliſhment in the Kingdom; till the *Spaniſh* Army was actually on the March; till our Troops were encamp'd without the City; and till the Declaration of Monſieur *de Turenne*, which would be the deciſive Blow, becauſe it would ſtrengthen our Party with a Body of Troops altogether independent of Strangers, or rather, it would form a Party perfectly *French*, capable, by its own Strength, to carry on our Cauſe.

This laſt Conſideration tranſported Madame *de Bouillon*, who, when ſhe found that the Company was gone, without reſolving to make themſelves Maſters of the Parliament, was very angry; and ſaid to the Duke, I told you beforehand, that you would be ſway'd by the *Coadjutor*. The Duke reply'd, *What*, Madame, *wou'd you have the* Coadjutor, *for our ſakes only, run the Riſque of being no more than Chaplain to* Fuenſaldagne? Is it poſſible that you cannot comprehend what he has been preaching to you, for theſe laſt three Days?

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I reply'd to Madame, with a great deal of Temper, and ſaid, *Don't you think that we ſhall act more ſecurely when our Troops are out of* Paris, *when we receive the Arch-Duke's Anſwer, and when* Turenne *has made publick Declaration? Yes, I do,* ſaid ſhe; *but the Parliament will take one Step to Morrow, which will render all your Preliminaries of no Uſe. Never fear, Madame,* ſaid I, *I will undertake, that if our Meaſures ſucceed, we ſhall be in a Condition to deſpiſe all that the Parliament can do. Will you promiſe it?* ſaid ſhe. *Yes,* ſaid I, *and more than that, I am ready to ſeal it with my Blood.* She took me at my Word; and tho' the Duke uſed all the Arguments with her which he could think of, ſhe bound my Thumb with Silk, and with a Needle drew Blood, with which ſhe oblig'd me to ſign a Promiſſory Note, to this Effect: "I pro-"miſe to Madame the Dutcheſs of *Bouillon*, to "continue united with the Duke, her Huſband, "againſt the Parliament, in caſe that Monſieur "de *Turenne* do approach with the Army under "his Command, within 20 Leagues of *Paris*, "and declare for the City. Monſieur *de Bouillon* threw it into the Fire, and endeavour'd to convince the Dutcheſs of what I had ſaid, that if our Preliminaries ſhould ſucceed, we ſhould ſtill ſtand upon our own Bottom, notwithſtanding all that the Parliament could do; and that if they did miſcarry, we ſhould ſtill have the Satisfaction of not being the Authors of a Confuſion, which would infallibly cover me with Shame and Ruin, and be an uncertain Advantage to the Family of *Bouillon*.

During this, a Captain in Monſieur *d' Elbeuf*'s Regiment of Guards, was ſeen to throw Money among the Prentice Boys, to encourage them to go to the Parliament-Houſe, and cry out, *No Peace*; upon which Monſieur *de Bouillon* and I agreed to ſend the Duke theſe Words, upon the

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Back of a Card, *It will be dangerous for you to be at the Parliament-House to Morrow.* Monsieur *d' Elbeuf* came in all haste to the Palace of *Bouillon*, to know the Meaning of this short Caution. Monsieur *de Bouillon* told him, he heard the People had got a Notion, that both the Duke and himself held a Correspondence with *Mazarin*; and that therefore it was their best way not to go to the House, for fear of the Mob, which might be expected there next Day.

Monsieur *d' Elbeuf* knowing that the People did not care for him, and that he was no safer in his own House than elsewhere, said, that he fear'd his Absence, upon such an Occasion, might be interpreted to his Disadvantage. Monsieur *de Bouillon*, having no other Design but to alarm him with imaginary Fears of a publick Disturbance, made himself more sure of him another Way, by telling him, 'twas most advisable for him to be at the Parliament; but that he needed not expose himself, and therefore had best go along with me.

I went with him accordingly, and found a Multitude of People in the great Hall, crying, *God bless the Coadjutor*; *No Peace, no Mazarin*; and Monsieur *de Beaufort* entring another Way at the same Time, the Ecchoes of our Names spread every where, so that the People mistook it for a concerted Design to disturb the Proceedings of Parliament; and, *as in a Commotion, every thing that confirms us in the Belief of it, augments likewise the Number of Mutineers*; we were very near doing that in one Moment, which we had been a whole Week labouring to prevent.

The first President, and President *de Mesmes*, having, in Concert with the other Deputies, suppress'd the Answer the Queen made them in Writing, left some harsh Expressions contain'd

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therein, should give Offence, put the best Colours they could invent upon the obliging Terms in which the Queen spoke to them: And then the House appointed Commissioners for the Treaty, leaving it to the Queen to name the Place, and agreed to send the King's Council next Day, to demand the Opening the Passages, in Pursuance of the Queen's Promise. The President *de Mesmes*, surpriz'd to meet with no Opposition, neither from the Generals, nor my self, said to the first President, *Here is a wonderful Harmony, but I fear the Consequences of this dissembled Moderation.* I believe he was much more surpriz'd, when the Serjeants came to acquaint the House, that the Mob threatned to Murder all that were for the Conference, before *Mazarin* was sent out of the Kingdom. But Monsieur *de Beaufort* and I went out, and soon dispers'd them, so that the Members retired without the least Danger; which inspired the Parliament with such a Degree of Boldness afterwards, as had like to have prov'd their Ruin.

On the 2*d* of *March*, 1649, Letters were brought to the Parliament from the Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince of *Conde*, expressing a great deal of Joy at what the Parliament had done; but denying that the Queen had promis'd to open the Passages; upon which the Parliament fell into such a Rage, as I cannot describe to you. They sent Orders to the King's Council, who were gone that Morning to St. *Germain* to fetch the Passports for the Deputies, to declare, that the Parliament was resolv'd to hold no Conference with the Court, till the Queen had perform'd Her Promise made to the first President. I thought it a very proper Time to let the Court see that the Parliament had not lost all its Vigour; and made a Motion, by *Broussel*, that considering

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sidering the Insincerity of the Court, the Levies might be continued, and new Commissions given out. The Proposition was receiv'd with Applause, and the Prince of *Conti* was desir'd to issue out Commissions accordingly.

Monsieur *de Beaufort*, in Concert with Monsieur *de Bouillon*, *de la Mothe*, and my self, exclaim'd against this Contravention, and offer'd in the Name of his Collegues and his own, to open all the Passages themselves, if the Parliament would but take a firm Resolution, and be no more amus'd by deceitful Proposals, which had only serv'd to keep the whole Nation in suspence, who would otherwise have declar'd by this time in Favour of its Capital. It is inconceivable what Influence these few Words had upon the Audience, every Body concluded that the Treaty was already broke off; but a Moment after, they thought the contrary; for the King's Council return'd with the Passports for the Deputies, and instead of an Order for opening the Passages, a Grant, such an one as it was, of 500 Quarters of Corn *per diem*, for Subsistence of the City. However, the Parliament took all in good Part; all that had been said and done a quarter of an Hour before, was buried in Oblivion, and they made Preparations to go next Day to *Ruel*, the Place named by the Queen for the Conference.

The Prince of *Conti*, *de Beaufort*, *d' Elbeuf*, Mareschal *la Mothe*, *de Brissac*, President *Bellievre*, and my self, met that Night at Monsieur *de Bouillon*'s House, where a Motion was made for the Generals of the Army to send a Deputation likewise to the Place of Conference, but it was quash'd; and indeed nothing would have been more absurd than such a Proceeding, when we were upon the Point of concluding a Treaty with *Spain*, and considering that we told the Envoy, that we had never consented to hold any

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Conference with the Court, were we not assured, that it was in our Power to break it off at Pleasure, by means of the People.

The Parliament having lately reproach'd both the Generals and Troops with being afraid to venture without the Gates, M. *de Bouillon* seeing the Danger was over, propos'd at this Meeting, for satisfaction of the Citizens, to carry them to a Camp betwixt the *Marne* and *Seine*, where they might be as safe as at *Paris*; the Motion was agreed to without consulting the Parliament, and accordingly, on the *4th* of *March*, the Troops marched out, and the Deputies of Parliament went to *Ruel*.

The Court Party flatter'd themselves, that upon the Marching of the Militia out of *Paris*, the Citizens being left to themselves, would become more tractable, and the President *de Mesmes* made his Boast of what he had said to the Generals, to perswade them to incamp their Army. But *Senneterre*, one of the ablest Men at Court, soon penetrated our Designs, and undeceiv'd them. He told the first President and *de Mesmes*, that they were bit, and that they would see it in a little time. The first President, who was all of a Piece, and never could see two different Things at one View, was so overjoy'd when he heard the Forces were gone out of *Paris*, that he cry'd out, *Now the* Coadjutor *will have no more mercenary Brawlers at the Parliament-House*; *Nay*, said the President *de Mesmes*, *so many Cut-throats*. *Senneterre*, like a wise Man, said to them both, *It is not the* Coadjutor's *Interest to murther you, but to bring you under. The People would serve his turn for the first, if he aim'd at it; and the Army is admirably well incamp'd for the latter. If he is not an honester Man, than he is look'd upon to be here, we are like to have a tedious Civil War.* The Cardinal confess'd that *Senneterre* was in the right; for,

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or, on one Hand, the Prince of *Conde* perceiv'd that our Army, being ſo advantageouſly poſted as not to be attack'd, would be capable of giving him more trouble, than if they were ſtill within the Walls of the City; and on the other Hand, we began to talk with more Courage in Parliament than uſual.

The Afternoon of the 4*th* of *March*, gave us a juſt Occaſion to ſhew it. The Deputies arriving at *Ruel*, underſtood that Cardinal *Mazarin* was one of the Commiſſioners named by the Queen, to aſſiſt at the Conference. The Parliament Deputies pretended that they could not confer with a Perſon actually condemned by Parliament. Monſieur *de Tellier* told them, in the Name of the Duke of *Orleans*, that the Queen thought it ſtrange, that they were not contented to treat upon an Equality with their Sovereign; but that they ſhould preſume to limit his Authority, by excluding his Deputies. The firſt Preſident and the Court ſeeming to be immoveable, we ſent Orders to our Deputies not to comply, and to communicate, as a great Secret, to Preſident *de Meſmes* and *Menardeau*, both Creatures of the Court, the following Poſtſcript of a Letter, I wrote to *Longueville*.

P. S. *We have concerted our Meaſures, and are now capable to ſpeak more to the Purpoſe than we have been hitherto; and ſince I finiſh'd this Letter, I have receiv'd a piece of News, which obliges me to tell you, that if the Parliament don't behave very prudently, they will certainly be ruin'd.* Upon this, the Deputies were reſolv'd to inſiſt for excluding the Cardinal from the Conference; an Article which was ſo odious to the People, that had we permitted it, we had certainly loſt all our Credit with them, and been oblig'd to ſhut the Gates againſt our Deputies upon their Return.

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When the Court ſaw that the Deputies deſired a Convoy to conduct them home, they found out an Expedient, which was receiv'd with great Joy; *viz.* to appoint two Deputies on the Part of the Parliament, and two on the Part of the King, to confer at the Houſe of the Duke of *Orleans*, excluſive of the Cardinal, who was thereupon oblig'd to return to St. *Germains* with Mortification.

On the 5*th* of *March*, *Don Franciſco Piſarro*, a ſecond Envoy of the Arch-Duke, arriv'd in *Paris*, with his, and Count *Fuenſaldagne*'s Anſwer to our former Diſpatches by *Don Joſeph d' Illeſcas*, and full Powers for a Treaty; Inſtructions for Monſieur *de Bouillon*; an obliging Letter from the Arch-Duke to the Prince of *Conti*, and another to my ſelf, from Count *Fuenſaldagne*, importing, that the King, his Maſter, would not take my Word, but would depend upon whatever I promis'd Madame *de Bouillon*.

The Prince of *Conti* and Madame *de Longueville*, prompted by Monſieur *de Rochefoucaut*, were for an Alliance with *Spain*, in a manner without Reſtriction. M. *d' Elbeuf* aim'd at nothing but getting Money. Monſieur *de Beaufort*, at the Perſwaſion of Madame *Montbazon*, (who was reſolv'd to ſell him dear to the *Spaniards*) was very ſcrupulous to enter into a Treaty with the Enemies of the State; Mareſchal *de la Mothe*, declar'd he could not come to any Reſolution till he ſaw Monſieur *de Longueville*; and Madame *de Longueville*, queſtion'd whether her Husband would come into it; and yet theſe very Perſons, but a Fortnight before, unanimouſly writ to the Arch-Duke, for full Powers to treat with him.

Monſieur *de Bouillon* told them: "That he "thought they were abſolutely oblig'd to treat "with *Spain*, conſidering the Advances they had "alrea-

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" already made to the Arch-Duke for that End, " and desir'd them to recollect, how they had " told his Envoy, that they waited only for " these full Powers and Instructions to treat with " him: That the Arch-Duke had now sent his " full Powers in the most obliging Manner, and " that moreover, he was already got out of " *Brussels*, to lead his Army himself to their As- " sistance, without staying for their Engagement. " He begg'd them to consider, that if they took " the least Step backwards, after such Advances, " it might provoke *Spain* to take such Measures, " as would be both contrary to our Security, and " to our Honour; that the ill-concerted Pro- " ceedings of the Parliament, gave us just Grounds " to fear being left to shift for our selves; that " indeed our Army was now more useful than " it had been before; but yet not strong e- " nough to give us Relief, in Proportion to our " Necessities, especially if it was not, at least " in the Beginning, supported by a powerful " Force; and that consequently, a Treaty was " necessary to be enter'd into, and concluded " with the Arch-Duke, but not upon any mean " Conditions; that his Envoys had brought " *Carte blanche*, but that we ought to consider " how to fill it up; that he promis'd us e- " very thing; but tho' in Treaties, the Strong- " est may safely promise to the Weaker " what he thinks fit, 'tis certain he cannot per- " form every thing; and therefore the Weakest " should be very wary.

The Duke added, " That the *Spaniards*, of all " People, expected honourable Usage at the be- " ginning of Treaties, and he conjur'd them to " leave the Management of the *Spanish* Envoys " to himself and, the Coadjutor, who, says he, " has declar'd all along, that he proposes no

" Ad-

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" Advantage either from the preſent Troubles, " or from an Accommodation, and is therefore " altogether unexceptionable.

This Diſcourſe was reliſh'd by all the Company, who accordingly engag'd us to compare Notes with the Envoys of *Spain*, and make our Report to the Prince of *Conti*, and the other Generals.

Monſieur *de Bouillon* aſſur'd me, that the *Spaniards* would not enter upon *French* Ground, 'till we engag'd our ſelves not to lay down our Arms, but in Conjunction with them, *viz.* in a Treaty of a General Peace; but our Difficulty was, how to enter into an Engagement of that Nature, at a Time, when we could not be ſure but that the Parliament might conclude a particular Peace the next Moment. Mean time, a Courier came in from M. *de Turenne*, crying, *Good News*, as he enter'd into the Court. He brought Letters for Madame and Mademoiſelle *de Bouillon*, and my ſelf, by which we were aſſured, that he and his Army, which was without diſpute the fineſt at that time in all *Europe*, had declar'd for us; and that *Erlach*, Governour of *Briſac*, was retired thither with 1000 or 1200 Men, which was all he had been able to debauch; that my dear Friend and Kinſman, the Viſcount *de Lamet*, was marching directly to our Aſſiſtance with 2000 Horſe; and that Monſieur *de Turenne* was to follow on ſuch a Day with the Groſs of the Army. You'll be ſurpriz'd, without doubt, to hear that Monſieur *de Turenne*, General of the King's Troops, one who was never a Party Man, and would never hear talk of Party Intriegues, ſhould now declare againſt the Court, and

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and do an Action, which, I am sure, * *Balafre* and Admiral *Coligni* would not have undertaken without Hesitation. Your Wonder will increase yet more, when I tell you, that the Motive of this surprizing Conduct of his is a Secret to this Day. His Behaviour also, during his Declaration, which he supported but five Days, is equally surprizing and mysterious. This shews, that 'tis possible for some extraordinary Characters to be rais'd above the Malice and Envy of vulgar Souls; for the Merit of any Person inferior to the Mareschal's must have been totally eclips'd by such an unaccountable Event.

Upon the Arrival of this Express from *Turenne*, I told M. *de Bouillon*, 'twas my Opinion, "That if "the *Spaniards* would engage to advance as far as "*Pont-a-Verre*, and act on this side of it at least, "in Concert only with us, we should make no "scruple of obliging our selves not to lay down "our Arms till the Conclusion of a General Peace; "provided they keep their Promise given to the "Parliament, of referring themselves to its Arbi-"tration. The true Interest of the Publick, said "I, is a general Peace; that of the Parliament, "and other Societies, is the Re-establishment of "good Orders; and that of your Grace, and "others, with my self, is to contribute to the "forementioned Blessings in such manner, "that we may be esteemed the Authors of "them; all other Advantages are necessa-"rily attach'd to this; and the only Way to "acquire them is, to shew that we don't value "them."

* Henry de Lorain, *first of that Name, Duke of* Guise, *surnamed* Balafre, *because of a Wound he received in the left Cheek, at the Battle of* Dormans, *the Scar of which he carried to his Grave. He formed the League, and was stabbed at an Assembly of the States of* Blois 1588.

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"them. You know, that I have frequently vow-
"ed, that I deſigned no private Intereſt from
"this Affair, and I will keep my Word to the
"End. Your Circumſtances are different from
"mine; you aim at *Sedan*, and you are in the
"Right. Monſieur *de Beaufort* wants to be Ad-
"miral, and I can't blame him. Monſieur *de*
"*Longueville* has other demands; with all my
"Heart. The Prince of *Conti* and Madame *de*
"*Longueville* would be, for the future, indepen-
"dent of the Prince of *Conde*; that Indepen-
"dency they ſhall have. Now, in order to at-
"tain to theſe Ends, the only Means is, to
"look another Way, to turn all our Thoughts
"to bring about a General Peace, and to
"ſign to Morrow the moſt ſolemn and poſitive
"Engagement with the Enemy; and the better
"to pleaſe the Publick, to inſert in the Arti-
"cles, the Expulſion of Cardinal *Mazarin*, as
"their mortal Enemy; to cauſe the *Spaniſh* Forces
"to come up immediately to *Pont a Verre*, and
"thoſe of Monſieur *de Turenne*, to advance to
"*Champaigne*, and to go without any loſs of Time,
"to propoſe to the Parliament what Don *Joſeph*
"*d'Illeſcas* had offer'd them already, in relation
"to a General Peace; and to diſpoſe them to
"vote as we would have them, which they will
"not fail to do, conſidering the Circumſtances
"we are now in; and to ſend Orders to our
"Deputies at *Ruel*, either to get the Queen to
"nominate a Place to confer about a General
"Peace, or to return the next Day to their
"Seats in Parliament. I am apt to think, that
"the Court, ſeeing to what an Extremity they
"are reduced, will comply; than which, what
"can be more for our Honour?

"And if the Court ſhould refuſe this Propo-
"ſition at preſent, will they not be of another

"Mind

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" Mind before two Months are at an end? " Will not the Provinces, which are already " ballancing, then declare in our Favour? And " is the Army of the Prince of *Conde* in a Con- " dition to engage that of *Spain* and ours, in " Conjunction with that of Monſieur *de Turenne?* " Theſe two laſt, when joyn'd, will put us a- " bove all the Apprehenſions from Foreign For- " ces, which have hitherto made us uneaſie; " they will depend much more on us, than we " on them; we ſhall continue Maſters of *Paris* " by our own Strength, and the more ſecurely, " becauſe the intervening Authority of Parlia- " ment will the more firmly unite us to the " People. The Declaration of Monſieur *de Tu- " renne* is the only means to unite *Spain* with the " Parliament for our Defence, which we could " not have otherwiſe as much as hoped for; " it gives us an Opportunity to engage the Par- " liament, in Concert with whom we cannot act " amiſs; and this is the only Moment when " ſuch Engagement is both poſſible and profita- " ble. The firſt Preſident and *de Meſmes* are now " out of the Way, and it will be much eaſier " for us to obtain what we want in Parlia- " ment than if they were preſent, who, if they " execute faithfully what is commanded in the " Arret of Parliament, we ſhall gain our Point, " and unite the Chambers for that great Work " of a General Peace. If the Court ſtill rejects " our Propoſals, and thoſe of the Deputies, who " are for the Court, refuſe to follow our Mo- " tion, or to ſhare in our Fortune, we ſhall " gain as much in another Reſpect, we ſhall " keep our ſelves ſtill attach'd to the Body of " the Parliament, from which they will be e- " ſteemed Deſerters, and we ſhall have much " greater Weight in the Houſe than now.

" This

"This is my Opinion, which I am willing "to ſign, and to offer to the Parliament, if "you lay hold of this, which is the only Junc- "ture. For if Monſieur *de Turenne* ſhould alter "his Mind before it be done, I ſhould then "oppoſe this Scheme with as much Warmth "as I now recommend it.

The Duke ſaid in Anſwer, "Nothing can "have a more promiſing Aſpect than what you "have now propoſed, it is very practicable, but e- "qually pernicious for all private Perſons. *Spain* will "promiſe all, but perform nothing, after we have "once promis'd to enter into no Treaty with "the Court, but for a General Peace. This be- "ing the only Thing the *Spaniards* have in View, "they will abandon us as ſoon as they can ob- "tain it; and if we ſhould urge this great "Work on a ſudden, as you would have us, "they would infallibly have it in a Fortnights "time, for *France* would certainly make it with "Precipitation; and I know the *Spaniards* would "be glad to purchaſe it on any Terms. This "being the Caſe, in what a Condition ſhall we "be the next Day after we have made and "procured this General Peace? We ſhould "indeed have the Honour of it; but would "this Honour ſcreen us againſt the Hatred and "Curſes of the Court? Would the Houſe "of *Auſtria* take up Arms again to reſcue you "and me from a Priſon? You'll ſay, perhaps, "we may ſtipulate ſome Conditions with *Spain*, "which may ſecure us from all inſults of this "kind; but I think I have obviated this Ob- "jection already, when I aſſure you, that *Spain* "is ſo preſs'd with Domeſtick Neceſſities, that "ſhe would not ſtick, for the ſake of Peace, to "ſacrifice the moſt ſolemn Promiſes made to us; "and this is an Inconveniency, for which I ſee no "Remedy. If *Spain* ſhould be worſe than her "Word,

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"Word, with Reſpect to the Expulſion of *Ma-*
"*zarin*, what will become of us? And will the
"Honour of our contributing to the General
"Peace, atone for the Preſervation of a Mini-
"ſter, to get rid of whom they took up Arms?
"You know how they abhor the Cardinal;
"and ſuppoſe the Cardinal be excluded from
"the Miniſtry, according to Promiſe, ſhall we
"not ſtill be expoſed to the Hatred of the Queen,
"to the Reſentments of the Prince of *Conde*, and
"to all the evil Conſequences that may be ex-
"pected from an enrag'd Court, for ſuch an
"Action? There is no true Glory but what
"is durable, tranſitory Honour is meer Smoak:
"Of this ſort is that which we ſhall acquire
"by this Peace, if we do not ſupport it by
"ſuch Eſtabliſhments as will gain us the Reputation
"of Wiſdom as well as Honeſty. I admire
"your Diſintereſtedneſs above all, and eſteem it;
"but I am very well aſſured, that if mine went
"the length of yours, you would not approve
"of it. Your Family is ſettled; conſider mine,
"and caſt your Eyes on the Condition of this
"Lady, and that of both the Father and Chil-
"dren.

I anſwer'd: "That the *Spaniards* muſt needs
"have great Regard for us, ſeeing us abſolute
"Maſters of *Paris*, with 8000 Foot and 3000
"Horſe at its Gates, and the beſt diſciplin'd
"Troops in the World marching to our Aſſiſt-
"ance. I did all I could to bring him over to
my Opinion; and he ſtrove as much to per-
ſwade me to enter into his Meaſures, *viz.* to
pretend to the Envoys, that we were abſolutely
reſolv'd to act in Concert with them for a Ge-
neral Peace; but to tell them at the ſame time,
that we thought it more proper that the Par-
liament ſhould likewiſe be engaged, which, as it
would require ſome time, we might in the mean
while

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while amuse the Envoys, by signing a Treaty with them, previous to that carrying on with the Parliament, which, by Consequence, would not tie us up to conclude any thing positively in relation to the General Peace; and yet this, said he, would be a sufficient Motive to cause them to advance with their Army; *and that of my Brother will come up at the same time, which will astonish the Court, and incline them to an Accommodation. And forasmuch as in our Treaty with* Spain, *we leave a back Door open, by the Clause which relates to the Parliament, we shall be sure to make good use of it for the Advantage of the Publick and our selves, in Case of the Court's Non-compliance.*

These Considerations, though profoundly Wise, did not convince me; because I thought his Inference was not well-grounded. I saw he might well enough amuse the Envoys; but I could not imagine how he could amuse the Parliament, who were actually treating with the Court by their Deputies sent to *Ruel*, and who would certainly run madly into a Peace, notwithstanding all their late Sallies. I foresaw, that without a public Declaration to restrain the Parliament from going their own Lengths, we should fall again, *if one of our Strings chanced to break*, into the Necessity of Courting the Assistance of the People, which I look'd upon as the most dangerous Inconveniency of all.

Monsieur *de Bouillon* ask'd me what I meant by saying, *If one of our Strings chanced to break?* I replied; *For Example, if Monsieur* de Turenne *should be dead at this Juncture, or if his Army has revolted, as it had like to have done, by means of Monsieur* d'Erlach, *pray what would become of us, if we should not engage the Parliament? We should be Tribunes of the People one Day, and the next,* Valets de Chambre *to Count* Fuensaldagne; *All with the Parliament, and nothing without them, is the Burden of my Song.*

After

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After several Hours Dispute, neither of us was convinced; and I went away very much perplexed, the rather, because that Monsieur *de Bouillon* being the great Confident of the *Spaniards*, I doubted not but he could make their Envoys believe what he pleased.

I was still more puzzled, when I came home and found a Letter from Madame *de Lesdiguiers*, proposing me extraordinary Advantages in the Queen's Name, *viz.* the Payment of my Debts, the Grant of certain Abbeys, and a Nomination to the Dignity of Cardinal. Another Note I found with these Words: *The Declaration of the Army of* Germany, *has put us all into a Consternation.* I concluded they would not fail to try Experiments with others, as well as my self; and since Monsieur *de Bouillon* began to think of a back Door, when all things smiled upon us, I guess'd the rest of our Party would not neglect to enter the great Door now flung open to receive them, by the Declaration of Monsieur *de Turenne*. That which afflicted me most of all was, to see that Monsieur *de Bouillon*, was not a Man of that Judgment and Penetration I took him for in this critical and decisive Juncture, when the Question was the Engaging or not Engaging the Parliament. He had urg'd me more than twenty times to do what I now offer'd, and the Reason why I now urg'd what I before rejected, was the Declaration of Monsieur *de Turenne*, his own Brother, which should have made him bolder than me; but instead of this, it slacken'd his Courage, and he flatter'd himself, that Cardinal *Mazarin* would let him have *Sedan*; this was the Center of all his Views, and he preferr'd these petty Advantages to what he might have gain'd by procuring Peace to *Europe*. This false Step made me pass this Judgment upon the Duke, that tho' he was a Person of very great Parts,

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yet I queſtion'd his Capacity for the mighty Things which he has not done, and of which ſome Men thought him very capable. *It is the greateſt Slur upon a Great Man, to neglect the Moment that is deciſive to his Reputation, and this Negligence indeed ſcarce ever happens, but when a Man expects another Moment as favourable to make his Fortune, in which People are commonly deceiv'd both Ways.* The Duke was more Nice than Wiſe at this Juncture, which is very often the Caſe. I found afterwards that the Prince of *Conti* was of his Opinion, and I gueſs'd, by ſome Circumſtances, that he was engaged in ſome private Negotiation. Monſieur *d' Elbeuf* was as Meek as a Lamb, and ſeem'd, as far as he durſt, to improve what had been advanced already by Monſieur *de Bouillon*. A Servant of his told me likewiſe, that he believ'd his Maſter had made his Peace with the Court. Monſieur *de Beaufort* ſhew'd by his Behaviour, that Madame *Montbazon* had done what ſhe could to cool his Courage; but his Irreſolution did not embarraſs me very much, becauſe I knew I had the Aſcendant over her, and his Vote added to that of Meſſieurs *de Briſſac*, *de la Mothe*, *de Noirmoutier*, and *Bellievre*, who all fell in with my Sentiments, had turn'd the Balance on my ſide, had not the Regard for Monſieur *de Turenne*, who was now the Life and Soul of the Party, and the *Spaniards* Confidence in Monſieur *de Bouillon*, oblig'd me to make a Virtue of Neceſſity. I found both the Arch-Duke's Envoys quite of another Mind; indeed they were ſtill deſirous of an Engagement for a General Peace, but they would have it after the Manner of Monſieur *de Bouillon*, viz. at two ſeparate Times, which he had made them believe, would be more for their Advantage; becauſe thereby we ſhould engage the Parliament in it. I ſaw who was at the Bottom of it, and that conſidering the Orders

they

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they had to follow his Advice in all Things, all I could alledge to the contrary would be of no use. I laid the State of Affairs before the President *de Bellievre*, who was of my Opinion; and that the contrary would infallibly prove our Ruin; judging nevertheless, that a Compliance were highly convenient at this Time; becauſe we depended abſolutely on the *Spaniards*, and on Monſieur *de Turenne*, who hitherto made no Motions, but ſuch as were dictated by Monſieur *de Bouillon*.

When I found that all Monſieur *Bellievre* and I ſaid, could not perſwade Monſieur *de Bouillon*, I ſeem'd, in Appearance, to be of his Opinion, and to ſubmit to the Authority of the Prince of *Conti*, our Generaliſſimo; we agreed to treat with the Arch-Duke, upon the Plan of Monſieur *de Bouillon*, i. e. that he ſhould advance his Army as far as *Pont à Veire*, and farther, if the Generals deſired it, who, on their Part, would omit nothing to oblige the Parliament to enter into this Treaty, or rather, to make a new one, for a General Peace; that is to ſay, to oblige the King to treat upon reaſonable Conditions, the Particulars whereof his Catholick Majeſty would refer to the Arbitration of the Parliament. Monſieur *de Bouillon* engag'd to have this Treaty *in totidem verbis* Signed by the *Spaniſh* Miniſters, and did not ſo much as ask me whether I would ſign it or no. All the Company rejoiced to have the *Spaniards* Aſſiſtance upon ſuch eaſie Terms, and to be at full Liberty to receive the Propoſitions of the Court, which now, upon the Declaration of Monſieur *de Turenne*, could not fail of being very advantageous.

The Treaty was accordingly ſign'd in the Prince of *Conti*'s Chamber, at the Town-Houſe; but I forbore to ſet my Hand to it, tho' ſoli-

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cited by Monsieur *de Bouillon*, unless they would come to some final Resolution; yet I gave them my Word, that if the Parliament would be contented, I had such Expedients in my Power, as would give them all the Time necessary to withdraw their Troops. I had two Reasons for what I said; *First*, I knew *Fuenfaldagne* to be a wise Man, that he would be of a different Opinion from his Envoys, and that he would never venture his Army into the Heart of the Kingdom with so little Assurance from the Generals, and none at all from me? And, *secondly*, because I was willing to shew to our Generals, that I would not, as far as it lay in my Power, suffer the *Spaniards* to be treacherously surpriz'd or insulted, in Case of an Accommodation between the Court and Parliament; tho' I had protested twenty times in the same Conference, that I would not separate my self from the Parliament.

Monsieur *d' Elbeuf* said, *You cannot find the Expedients you talk of, but in having Recourse to the People. Monsieur* de Bouillon *will answer for me*, said I, *that it is not there that I am to fetch my Expedients.* Monsieur *de Bouillon* being desirous that I should Sign, said, I know that it is not your Intent, but I am fully perswaded, that you mean well, that you don't act as you propose, and that we retain more Respect for the Parliament by signing, than you do by refusing to sign; for (speaking very low that he might not be understood by the *Spanish* Ministers) we keep a back Door open to get off handsomely with the Parliament. They will open that Door, said I, when you could wish it shut, as is but too apparent already; and you'll be glad to shut it when you cannot; the Parliament is not a Company to be jested with. After the Signing of the Treaty,

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Treaty, I was told, that the Envoys had given 2000 Piſtoles to Madame *de Montbazon*, and as much to Monſieur *d'Elbeuf*.

Bellievre, who ſtaid for me at home, whither I return'd full of Vexation, us'd an Expreſſion, which has been ſince verified by the Event, *We fail'd this Day*, ſays he, *to engage the Parliament, which if we had done, all had been ſafe and right. Pray God, that every thing goes well, for if but one of our Strings fails us, we are undone.*

As to the Conferences for a Peace with the Court at *Ruel*, it was propoſed on the Queen's Part, that the Parliament ſhould adjourn their Seſſion to St. *Germain*, juſt to ratifie the Articles of the Peace, and not to meet afterwards in two or three Years; but the Deputies of Parliament inſiſted, it was their Privilege to aſſemble when and where they pleaſed. When theſe and the like Stories came to the Ears of the *Pariſians*, they were ſo incens'd, that the only Talk of the great Chamber was, to recal the Deputies; and the Generals ſeeing themſelves now reſpected by the Court, who did not much regard them before the Declaration of Monſieur *de Turenne*, thought that the more the Court was embarraſs'd, the more they ſhould find their Account, and therefore incited the Parliament and People to make a Clamour, that the Cardinal might ſee, that Things did not altogether depend upon the Conference at *Ruel*. I likewiſe contributed what lay in my Power to moderate the Precipitation of the firſt Preſident and Preſident *de Meſmes*, towards any Thing that look'd like an Accommodation.

On the 8*th* of *March*, the Prince of *Conti* acquainted the Parliament, that Monſieur *de Turenne* offer'd them his Services and Perſon againſt the Cardinal *Mazarin*, the Enemy of the State. I ſaid, that I was inform'd, a Declaration had

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Meſmes aſſured me ſeveral times ſince, that this Peace was the pure Reſult of a Converſation he had with the Cardinal on the 8th of *March* at Night, when his Eminence told him, he ſaw plainly, that Monſieur *de Bouillon* would not treat till he had the *Spaniards* and Monſieur *de Turenne* at the Gates of *Paris*; that is, till he ſaw himſelf in a Capacity of Seizing one half of the Kingdom. The Preſident made him this Anſwer, *There's no Hopes of any Security, but in making the Coadjutor a Cardinal.* To which *Mazarin* replied: *He is worſe than the other, who at leaſt ſeemed once inclinable to treat, but he is ſtill for a General Peace, or for none at all.* Preſident *de Meſmes* replied again: "If Things are come to this paſs, we "muſt be the Victims to ſave the State from "periſhing, we muſt Sign the Peace: For after "what the Parliament has done to Day, there "is no Remedy, and perhaps to Morrow we "ſhall be recalled; if we are diſown'd in what "we do, we are ruin'd, the Gates of *Paris* will "be ſhut againſt us, and we ſhall be proſecuted "and treated as Prevaricators and Traytors. "'Tis our Buſineſs and Concern to procure ſuch "Conditions, as will give us good Ground to "juſtifie our Proceedings; and if the Terms are "but reaſonable, we know how to improve them "againſt the Factious; but make them as you "pleaſe your ſelf, I will Sign them all, and will "go this Moment to acquaint the firſt Preſi-"dent, that this is the only Expedient to ſave "the State. If it takes Effect, we have Peace; "if we are diſown'd by the Parliament, we "ſtill weaken the Faction, and the Danger will "fall upon none but our ſelves. He added to me, that with much ado he perſwaded the firſt Preſident.

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The Peace was ſigned by Cardinal *Mazarin*, as well as by the other Deputies on the part of the King. The Subſtance of the Articles was, That the Parliament ſhould juſt go to St. *Germain* to proclaim the Peace, and then return to *Paris*; but to hold no Aſſembly that Year. That all their public Arrets ſince the *6th* of *January*, ſhould be made void, as likewiſe all Arrets of Council, Declarations, and Letters *de Cachet*. That as ſoon as the King had drawn his Troops from *Paris*, all the Forces rais'd for Defence of the City, ſhould be disbanded, and the Inhabitants ſhould lay down their Arms, and not take them up again without the King's Order. That the Arch-Duke's Deputy ſhould be diſmiſs'd without an Anſwer. That there ſhould be a general Amneſty, and the King ſhould alſo give a general Diſcharge for all the Public Money made uſe of, as alſo for the Moveables ſold, and for all the Arms and Ammunition taken out of the Arſenal and elſewhere.

Monſieur and Madame *de Bouillon* were extreamly ſurpriz'd when they heard the Peace was ſigned; I did not expect the Parliament would make it ſo ſoon, but I ſaid frequently, it would be a very ſhameful one, if we ſhould let them alone to make it. Monſieur *de Bouillon* own'd that I had foretold it often enough. I confeſs, ſaid he, we are entirely to blame. Which Expreſſion made me reſpect him more than ever; for, *I think it a greater Virtue for a Man to confeſs a Fault, than not to commit one.* The Prince of *Conti*, Meſſieurs *d' Elbeuf*, *de Beaufort*, and *de la Mothe*, were very much ſurprized too at the Signing of the Peace, eſpecially, becauſe their Agent at St. *Germains* had aſſur'd them, that the Court was fully perſwaded that the Parliament was but a Cypher, and that the Generals were the Men with whom they muſt negociate. I confeſs, Cardinal

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dinal *Mazarin* acted a very fly Part in this Juncture, and is the more to be commended, because he was oblig'd to defend himself, not only against the monstrous Impertinencies of *la Riviere*, but against the violent Passion of the Prince of *Conde*.

We had a Council at the Duke *de Bouillon*'s, where I perswaded them, that as our Deputies were recall'd by an Order dispatch'd from Parliament before the Treaty was sign'd, it was therefore void, and that we ought to take no notice of it; the rather, because it had not been communicated to Parliament in Form; and finally, that the Deputies should be charg'd to insist on a General Treaty of Peace, and on the Expulsion of *Mazarin*; and if they did not succeed, to return forthwith to their Seats in Parliament. But I added, that if the Deputies should have Time to return, and make their Report, we should be under a Necessity of Protesting, which would so incense the People against them, that we should not be able to keep them from butchering the first President and the President *de Mesmes*, so that we should be reputed the Authors of the Tragedy; and though formidable one Day, should be every whit as odious the next. I concluded with offering to Sacrifice my Coadjutorship of *Paris* to the Anger of the Queen, and the Hatred of the Cardinal, and That very cheerfully, if they would but come into my Measures.

Monsieur *de Bouillon*, after having opposed my Reasons, concluded thus: I know my Brother's Declaration, and my urging the Necessity of his Advancing with the Army, before we come to a positive Resolution, may give Ground to believe, that I have great Views for our Family. I do not deny, but that I hope for some Advantages, and am perswaded it is lawful for me so to do; but I'll be

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be content to forfeit all my Reputation, if I ever Accommodate with the Court, till you all say you are satisfied; and if I don't keep my Word, I desire the Coadjutor to disgrace me.

After all, I thought best to submit to the Prince of *Conti*, and to the Plurality of Voices; and they resolv'd very wisely, not to explain themselves particularly next Morning in Parliament, but only that the Prince of *Conti* should say, in general, that it being the common Report that the Peace was signed at *Ruel*, he was resolv'd to send Deputies thither, to take care of his, and the other Generals Interests.

The Prince follow'd our Agreement exactly. Mean time, the People rose, at the Report I had given out concerning *Mazarin*'s signing the Treaty, which, tho' we had concerted as a necessary Stratagem, I now repented of. This shews, *that a Civil War is one of those complicated Diseases, wherein the Remedy you prescribe for obviating one dangerous Symptom, sometimes inflames three or four others.*

The 13*th*, the Deputies of *Ruel* entring the Parliament-House, which was in a great Feud, Monsieur *d'Elbeuf*, contrary to the Resolution taken at Monsieur *de Bouillon*'s, ask'd the Deputies, whether they had taken care of the Interest of the Generals in the Treaty. The first President was going to make his Report, but was almost stunn'd with the Clamour of the whole Company, crying, *There was no Peace, there was no Peace*; that the Deputies had scandalously deserted the Generals, and all others whom the Parliament had join'd by the Arret of Union; and besides, that they had concluded a Peace after the Revocation of the Powers given them to treat. The Prince of *Conti* said very calmly, that he wonder'd they had concluded a Treaty without the Generals. To which the first President answer'd, That the Generals

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nerals had always proteſted to have no ſeparate Intereſts from that of the Parliament, and it was their own Fault, that they had not ſent their Deputies. Monſieur *de Bouillon* ſaid, that ſince Cardinal *Mazarin* was to continue Prime Miniſter, he deſir'd the Parliament would obtain a Paſſport for him to retire out of the Kingdom. The firſt Preſident replied, That his Intereſt had been taken care of, and that he would have Satisfaction for *Sedan*. But Monſieur *de Bouillon* told him, that he might as well have ſaid nothing, and that he would never ſeparate from the other Generals. The Clamour redoubled it ſelf with ſuch Fury, that Preſident *de Meſmes* trembled like an Aſpen Leaf. Monſieur *de Beaufort* laying his Hand upon his Sword, ſaid, Gentlemen Deputies, This ſhall never be drawn for *Mazarin*.

The Preſidents *de Coigneux* and *de Bellievre* propoſed that the Deputies might be ſent back to treat about the Intereſts of the Generals, and to reform the Articles which the Parliament did not like; but they were ſoon ſilenced by a ſudden Noiſe in the great Hall, and the Uſher came in trembling, and ſaid, that the People call'd for Monſieur *de Beaufort*. He went out immediately, and huſh'd them for the preſent; but no ſooner was he got in than the Diſturbance began afreſh; and an infinite Number of People, arm'd with Poinards, call'd out for the Original Treaty, that they might have *Mazarin*'s Sign Manual burnt by the Hangman; adding, that if the Deputies had ſigned the Peace of their own accord, they ought to be hang'd; and if againſt their Will, they ought to be diſown'd. They were told, that the Sign Manual of the Cardinal could not be burnt, without burning at the ſame time that of the Duke of *Orleans*'s but that they were going to ſend the Deputies back again,

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again, to get the Articles amended. The People ſtill cry'd out, *No Peace, no Mazarin, you muſt go, we'll have our good King fetch'd from St.* Germain's, *and all Mazarins thrown into the River.*

The People were ready to break open the great Door of the Houſe; yet the firſt Preſident was ſo far from being terrify'd, that when he was adviſed to paſs through the Regiſtry into his own Houſe, that he might not be ſeen; He replied, If I was ſure to periſh, I would never be guilty of ſo much Cowardice, which would only ſerve to make the Mob more inſolent, who would be ready to come to my Houſe, if they thought I was afraid of them here. And when I begg'd him not to expoſe himſelf, till I had pacify'd the People, he paſs'd it off with a Joke; by which I found he took me for the Author of the Diſturbance, tho' very unjuſtly. However, I did not reſent it, but went into the great Hall, and mounting the Solicitors Bench, wav'd my Hands to the People, who thereupon cry'd Silence. I ſaid all I could think of to make them eaſie: They ask'd, if I would promiſe that the Peace at *Ruel* ſhould not be kept. I anſwer'd, yes, provided the People would be quiet; for otherwiſe their beſt Friends would be oblig'd to take other Methods to prevent the like Diſturbances. I acted, in a quarter of an Hour, above thirty different Parts: I threaten'd, I commanded, I entreated them. And finding I was ſure of a Calm, at leaſt for a Moment, I return-ed to the Houſe, and embracing the firſt Preſident, put him before me, Monſieur *de Beaufort* did the ſame with Preſident *de Meſmes*, and thus we went out, with the Parliament, all in a Body, the Beadles marching before us. The People made a great Noiſe, and we heard ſome crying, *A Republick*; but no Injury was offer'd to us, only

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only Monsieur *de Bouillon* receiv'd a Blow in his Face by a Raggamuffin, who took him for Cardinal *Mazarin*.

On the 16th, the Deputies were sent again to *Rueil* by the Parliament, to amend some of the Articles, particularly those for adjourning the Parliament to St. *Germain*, and prohibiting their future Assemblies; with an Order to take care of the Interest of the Generals, and of the Companies, join'd by the Arret of Union.

The late Disturbances oblig'd the Parliament to post the City Train'd Bands at their Gates, who were even more enrag'd against the *Mazarine* Peace, as they call'd it, than the Mob, and far less dreaded; because they consisted of Citizens, who were not for Plunder; yet this Select Militia was sometimes going to insult the Parliament, and did actually insult the Councellors and Presidents, threatning to throw the President *de Thou* into the River; and when the first President and his Friends saw that they were aw'd from putting their Threats in Execution, they took an Advantage of us, and had the Boldness even to reproach the Generals, as if the Troops had not done their Duty; tho' if the Generals had but spoke loud enough to be heard by the People, they would not have been able to hinder them from pulling the Members to pieces.

The Duke *de Bouillon* came to the Town-House, and made a Speech there to the Prince of *Conti* and the other Generals, in Substance as follows: "I could never have believed, what I now see "of the Parliament, on the 13th they would "not hear the Peace of *Rueil* mentioned, but "on the 14th they approve of it, some few Ar-"ticles excepted; on the 16th, they dispatch the "same Deputies who had concluded a Peace a-

"gainst

" gainſt their Orders, with full and unlimit-
" ted Powers; and not contented with all this,
" they load us with Reproaches, becauſe we
" complain they have treated of a Peace without
" us, and have abandoned Monſieur *de Longueville*,
" and Monſieur *de Turenne*; and yet 'tis owing
" only to us, that the People don't Maſſacre them.
" We muſt ſave their Lives at the Hazard of
" our own; and I own 'tis Wiſdom ſo to do;
" but we ſhall all of us certainly periſh with
" the Parliament, if we let them go on at this
" rate. Then addreſſing himſelf to the Prince
of *Conti*, he ſaid, " I am for cloſing with the
" Coadjutor's late Advice at my Houſe, which
" if your Highneſs does not put in Execution
" before two Days are at an end, we ſhall have
" a Peace leſs ſecure, and more ſcandalous than
" the former.

The Company came unanimouſly into his Opinion, and reſolv'd to meet next Day at Monſieur *de Bouillon*'s, to conſider of bringing the Affair into Parliament. Mean time *Don Gabriel de Toledo* arriv'd with the Arch-Duke's Ratification of the Treaty ſign'd by the Generals, and with a Preſent from his Maſter of 10000 Piſtoles; but I was reſolv'd to let the *Spaniards* ſee that I was not for taking their Money, tho' at his Requeſt, Madame *de Bouillon* did all ſhe could to perſwade me. Accordingly I declin'd it with all poſſible Reſpect; nevertheleſs, this Denial coſt me dear afterwards, becauſe I contracted a Habit of refuſing Preſents at other times, when it had been good Policy to have accepted them, tho' I had thrown them into the River. *'Tis ſometimes very dangerous to refuſe Preſents from one's Superiours.*

While we were in Conference at Monſieur *de Bouillon*'s, the ſad News was brought us that Monſieur *de Turenne*'s Forces, all except two or three

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three Regiments, had been brib'd with Money from Court, to abandon him; and that finding himſelf like to be Arreſted, he was retired to his Friend and Kinſwoman, the Landgravine of * *Heſſe*. Monſieur *de Bouillon* was, as it were, Thunder-ſtruck; his Lady burſt out into Tears, ſaying, *We are all undone*; and I was almoſt as much caſt down as they were, becauſe it over-turn'd our laſt Scheme.

M. *de Bouillon* was now for puſhing Matters to an Extremity; but I convinc'd him, that there was nothing more dangerous.

Don Gabriel de Toledo, who was order'd to be very frank with me, was upon the Reſerve, after he ſaw how I was mortify'd about the News of Monſieur *de Turenne*, and caball'd with the Generals in ſuch a manner as made me very uneaſie. Upon this ſudden Turn of Affairs, I made theſe Remarks, *That every Company has ſo much in it of the unſtable Temper of the Vulgar, that all depends upon joining Iſſue with Opportunity*; and that the *beſt Propoſals prove often fading Flowers, which are fragrant to Day, and ſtink to Morrow.*

I could not ſleep that Night for thinking on our Circumſtances. I ſaw that the Parliament was leſs inclin'd than ever to engage in a War, by reaſon of the Deſertion of the Army of M. *de Turenne*; I ſaw the Deputies at *Ruel* emboldened, by the Succeſs of their Prevarication; I ſaw the People of *Paris* as ready to admit the Arch-Duke, as ever they could be to receive the Duke of *Orleans*; I ſaw that in a Weeks time, this Prince with Beads in his Hand, and *Fuen-*

* Amelia Elizabeth, *Lady of* William, *Landgrave of* Heſſen Caſſel. *She was firſt Couſin to Monſieur* de Turenne, *being Grandaughter of* Charlotta de Bourbon, *Wife to* William 1ſt. *Prince of* Orange, *Grandmother to Monſieur* de Turenne.

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Fuenſaldagne with his Money, would have greater Power than our ſelves; that Monſieur *de Bouillon* was relapſing into his former Propoſal of uſing Extremities; and that the other Generals would be precipitated into the ſame violent Meaſures, by the ſcornful Behaviour of the Court, now deſpiſing all, becauſe ſure of the Parliament. I ſaw all theſe Circumſtances prepared the Way for a popular Sedition to maſſacre the Parliament, and put the *Spaniards* in Poſſeſſion of the *Louvre*, which might overturn the State.

Theſe gloomy Thoughts I reſolv'd to communicate to my Father, who had for the laſt twenty Years been retir'd to the Oratory, and would never hear of my State Intrigues. My Father told me of ſome advantageous Offers made to me, underhand, by the Court, but adviſ'd me not to truſt them.

Next Day, Monſieur *de Bouillon* was for ſhutting the Gates againſt the Deputies of *Ruel*; for expelling the Parliament; for making our ſelves Maſters of the Town-Hall, and bringing the *Spaniſh* Army, without delay, into our Suburbs. As for M. *de Beaufort*, *Don Gabriel de Toledo* told me, that he offer'd Madame *de Montbazon* 20000 Crowns down, and 6000 *per Ann.* if ſhe could perſwade him into the Arch-Duke's Meaſures. He did not forget the other Generals. Monſieur *d'Elbeuf* was gain'd at an eaſie Rate, and Mareſchal *de la Mothe* was buoy'd up with the Hopes of being accommodated with the Dutchy of *Cardonne*. I ſoon ſaw the Catholicon of *Spain* (*Spaniſh* Gold) was the chief Ingredient. Every Body ſaw that our only Remedy was, to make our ſelves Maſters of the Town-Houſe, by means of the People; but I oppos'd it, with Arguments too tedious to mention. M. *de Bouillon* was for engaging entirely with *Spain*; but I convinc'd the Mareſchal *de la*

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Mothe, and M. *de Beaufort*, that ſuch Meaſures would in a fortnight reduce them to a precarious Dependence on the Counſels of *Spain*.

Being preſs'd to give my Opinion in ſhort, I deliver'd it thus: "We can't hinder the Peace "without ruining the Parliament by the Help "of the People; but we can't maintain the "War by the Means of the ſame People, without "a Dependence upon *Spain*. We can't have a-"ny Peace with St. *Germain*, but by conſenting "to continue *Mazarin* in the Miniſtry. Monſieur *de Bouillon* with the Phyz of an Ox, and the Penetration of an Eagle, interrupted me thus: "I take you, Sir, ſaid he, you are for ſuffering "the Peace to come to a Concluſion, but not "for appearing in it. I reply'd, "I was wil-"ling to oppoſe it; but it ſhould be only "with my own, and the Voices of thoſe who "were ready to run the ſame Hazard with me. "I underſtand you again, reply'd Monſieur *de* "*Bouillon*, a very fine Thought indeed, ſuitable "to your ſelf, and to Monſieur *de Beaufort*, but "to no Body elſe. "If it ſuited us only, ſaid "I, before I would propoſe it, I would cut out "my Tongue. The Part we act, would ſuit "you as well as either of us both, becauſe you "may accommodate Matters when you think "it for your Intereſt. For my Part, I am fully "perſwaded, that they who inſiſt upon the Ex-"cluſion of *Mazarin*, as a Condition of the in-"tended Accommodation, will continue Maſters "of the Affections of the People long enough "to make their Advantage of an Opportunity, "which Fortune never fails to furniſh in cloudy and "unſettled Times. Pray, Sir, conſidering your "Reputation and Capacity, who can pretend to "act this Part with more Dignity than your "ſelf? Monſieur *de Beaufort* and I, are already "the Darlings of the People; and if you de-

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" clare for the Excluſion of the Cardinal, you " will be to Morrow as popular as either of us; " and we ſhall be look'd upon as the only Cen- " ter of their Hopes; all the Blunders of the " Miniſters will turn to our Advantage, the " *Spaniards* will careſs us, and the Cardinal, con- " ſidering how fond he is of a Treaty, will be " under a Neceſſity to court us. I own this " Scheme may be attended with Inconvenien- " cies; but, on the other ſide of the Queſtion, " we are ſure of certain Ruin, if we have a " Peace, and an enrag'd Miniſter at the Helm, " who cannot hope for Re-eſtabliſhment but up- " on our Deſtruction. Therefore I can't but " think the Expedient is as proper for you to " engage in as me; but if, for Argument ſake, " it were not, I am ſure it is for your Intereſt " that I ſhould Embrace it, for you'll by that " means have more time to make your own " Terms with the Court, before the Peace " is concluded; and after the Peace, *Mazarin* " will hereby be oblig'd to have more Regard " for all thoſe Gentlemen, whoſe Reunion with " me it will be his Intereſt to prevent.

In fine, Monſieur *de Bouillon* was ſo convinc'd of the Juſtice of my Reaſoning, that he told me, when we were by our ſelves, that he had, as well as my ſelf, thought of my Expedient, as ſoon as he receiv'd the News of the Army de- ſerting Monſieur *de Turenne*; that he could ſtill improve it ſo far, as the *Spaniards* would not fail to reliſh it; and that he was going ſe- veral times one Day to confer about it with me; but that his Wife had conjur'd him with Pray- ers and Tears, to ſpeak no more of the Mat- ter, but to accommodate my Affairs with the Court, or elſe to engage my ſelf with the *Spa- niards*. I know, ſaid he, you are not for the

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ſecond, pray lend me your good Offices to make the beſt Advantage of the firſt. I aſſur'd him, that all my beſt Offices and Intereſt was entirely at his Service, to facilitate his Accommodation with the Court, and that he might freely make uſe of my Name and Reputation for that purpoſe.

In fine, we agreed in every Punctilio. Monſieur *de Bouillon* undertook to make the Propoſition palatable to the *Spaniards*, provided we would promiſe never to let them know, that it was concerted among our ſelves beforehand, and we queſtion'd not but we could diſpoſe Monſieur *de Longueville* to accept of it; *For Men of Irreſolution are apt to catch at all Overtures which lead them two Ways, and conſequently preſs them to no choice.*

I had almoſt forgot to tell you what Monſieur *de Bouillon* ſaid to me in private, as we were going from the Conference: "I am ſure, ſays he, "you will not blame me, for not expoſing "a Wife, whom I dearly love, and eight Chil- "dren, whom ſhe loves more than her ſelf, to "the Hazards which you run, and which I "could run with you, if I was a ſingle Man.

I was very much affected with the tender Sentiments of Monſieur *de Bouillon*, and the Confidence he plac'd in me; and aſſur'd him I was ſo far from blaming him, that I eſteemed him the more, and that his Tenderneſs for his Lady, which he was pleas'd to call his Weakneſs, was what indeed Politicks condemn'd, but Ethicks highly juſtified, becauſe one betoken'd an honeſt Heart, which is much ſuperiour both to Intereſt and Politicks. M. *de Bouillon* communicated the Propoſal both to the *Spaniſh* Envoys and to the Generals, who were eaſily perſwaded to reliſh it.

Thus

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Thus he made, as it were, a golden Bridge for the *Spaniards* to withdraw their Troops with Decency. I told him, as ſoon as they were gone, that he was an excellent Man to perſwade People *that a Quartan Ague was good for them.*

The Parliaments Deputies repairing to St. *Germain* on the 17*th* of *March*, 1649, firſt took care to ſettle the Intereſts of the Generals, upon which, every Officer of the Army thought he had a Right to exhibit his Pretenſions. Monſieur *de Vendoſme* ſent his Son a formal Curſe if he did not procure for him at leaſt the Superintendency of the Seas; a Poſt which was created firſt in favour of Cardinal *de Richelieu*, inſtead of High Admiral; but *Lewis* XIV. ſuppreſs'd it, and reſtored that of High Admiral in its place.

Upon this we held a Conference, the Reſult of which was, that on the 20*th*, the Prince of *Conti* acquainted the Parliament, that himſelf and the other Generals had not deliver'd in their Pretenſions, but becauſe they were neceſſitated to provide for their ſafety, in caſe *Mazarin* ſhould continue in the Miniſtry; and that he proteſted both for himſelf, and for all the Gentlemen engaged in the ſame Party, that they would immediately renounce all their Pretenſions whatſoever, upon the Excluſion of Cardinal *Mazarin.*

We alſo prevail'd on the Prince of *Conti*, tho' almoſt againſt his Will, to move the Parliament to direct their Deputies to join with the Count *de Maure*, for the Expulſion of Cardinal *Mazarin.* I had almoſt loſt all my Credit with the People, becauſe I hindred them, on the 13*th* of *March*, from maſſacring the Parliament; and, becauſe, on the 23*d*, and 24*th*, I oppos'd the publick Sale of the Cardinal's Library. But I reeſtabliſh'd my Reputation in the great Hall a-

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mong the Croud, in the Opinion of the Hotheads of the Parliament, by Haranguing againſt the Count *de Grancei*, who had the Inſolence to pillage the Houſe of Monſieur *Coulon*; by inſiſting, on the 24*th*, that the Prince of *Harcourt* ſhould be allow'd to ſeize all the Publick Money in the Province of *Picardy*; by raving, on the 25*th*, againſt a Truce, which 'twould have been ridiculous to refuſe in the Time of a Conference; and by oppoſing on the 30*th*, what was tranſacted there, tho' I knew at the ſame time, that the Peace was made. I return to the Conference at St. *Germain*.

The Court declared, they would never conſent to the Removal of the Cardinal; and that as to the Pretenſions of the Generals, which were either to Juſtice or Favour; thoſe of Juſtice, ſhould be confirmed; and thoſe of Favour, at his Majeſty's Diſpoſal to reward Merit. They declared their willingneſs to accept of the Arch-Duke's Propoſal for a General Peace.

An Amneſty was granted in the moſt Ample manner, comprehending expreſly the Prince of *Conti*, Meſſieurs *de Longueville*, *de Beaufort*, *de Harcourt*, *de Rieux*, *de Lillebonne*, *de Bouillon*, *de Turenne*, *de Briſſac*, *de Duras*, *de Matignon*, *de Beuron*, *de Noirmoutier*, *de Sevigni*, *de Tremouille*, *de la Rochefoucaut*, *de Retz*, *d' Eſtiſſac*, *de Montreſor*, *de Matta*, *de St. Germain*, *d' Apchon*, *de Sauvebeuf*, *de St. Ibal*, *de Lauret-at*, *de Laigues*, *de Chavagnac*, *de Chaumont*, *de Caumeſnil*, *de Cugnac*, *de Creci*, *d' Allici*, and *de Barriere*; but I was left out, which contributed to preſerve my Reputation with the Publick, more than you would expect from ſuch a Trifle.

On the 31*ſt*, the Deputies being return'd, made their Report to the Parliament, who, on the firſt of *April*, verified the Declaration of Peace.

As

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As I went to the Parliament, I found the Streets crouded with People, crying, *No Peace, No Mazarin*; but I diſpers'd them, by telling them, that 'twas one of *Mazarin*'s Stratagems to ſeparate the People from the Parliament, who, without doubt, had Reaſons for what they had done; that they ſhould be cautious of falling into the Snare; that they had no cauſe to fear *Mazarin*; and that they might depend on't, I would never agree with him. When I came to the Parliament, I found the Guards as hot as the People, and that they were for murdering all they knew to be of *Mazarin*'s Party; but I pacifi'd them, as I had done the others. The firſt Preſident ſeeing me coming in, ſaid, that *I had been Conſecrating Oil, mixt undoubtedly with Salt-Peter.* I heard the Words, but made as if I did not; for had I taken him up upon it, and had the People known it in the great Hall, it had not been in my Power to ſave one ſingle Member alive.

Soon after the Peace, the Prince of *Conti*, Madame *de Longueville*, and M. *de Bouillon*, went to St. *Germains* to the Court, who had by ſome Means or other gain'd M. *d' Elbeuf.* But Meſſieurs *de Briſſac*, *de Retz*, *de Vitri*, *de Fieſque*, *de Fontrailles*, *de Montreſor*, *de Noirmoutier*, *de Matta*, *de la Boulaie*, *de Caumeſnil*, *de Moreul*, *de Laigues*, and *d' Annery*, remain'd in a Body with us, which was not contemptible, conſidering the People were of our ſide; but the Cardinal deſpis'd us to that degree, that when Meſſieurs *de Beaufort*, *de Briſſac*, *de la Mothe*, and my ſelf, deſired one of our Friends to aſſure the Queen of our moſt humble Obedience; ſhe anſwer'd, that ſhe ſhould not regard our Aſſurances till we had paid our Devoirs to the Cardinal.

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Madame *de Chevreuſe* being come from *Bruſſels* without the Queen's leave, Her Majeſty ſent her Orders to quit *Paris* in 24 Hours; upon which, I went to her Houſe, and found the lovely Creature at her Toilet, bath'd in Tears. My Heart earn'd towards her, but I bid her not obey till I had the Honour of ſeeing her again. I conſulted with M. *de Beaufort*, how to get the Order revok'd; upon which he ſaid, *I ſee you are againſt her going, ſhe ſhall ſtay. She has very fine Eyes.*

I return'd to the Palace of *Chevreuſe*, where I was made very welcome, and found the lovely Mademoiſelle *Chevreuſe*. I got a very intimate Acquaintance with Madame *de Rhodes*, natural Daughter to Cardinal *de Guiſe*, who was her great Confident. I entirely demoliſhed the good Opinion ſhe had of the Duke of *Brunſwick Zell*, with whom ſhe had almoſt ſtruck a Bargain. *Laigues* hindred me at firſt, but the forwardneſs of the Daughter, and the eaſineſs of the Mother, ſoon removed all Obſtacles. I ſaw her every Day at her own Houſe, and very often at Madame *de Rhodes*, who allow'd us all the Liberty we could wiſh for, and we did not fail to make good uſe of our Time. I did love her, or rather, I thought I lov'd her, for I ſtill had to do with Madame *de Pomereux*.

Frond, i. e. Slinging, being the Name given to the Faction, I ſhall give you the Etymology of it, which I omitted in the firſt Book.

When the Parliament met upon State Affairs, the Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince of *Conde* came very frequently, and qualified the Heats of the Contending Parties; but this Calm was not laſting, for every other Day their Fury return'd upon them.

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Bachoumont happen'd to ſay, in a Jeſt, that the Parliament acted like the School-boys in the Ditches of *Paris*, who ſling Stones, and run away when they ſee the Beadle, but meet again as ſoon as he turns his Back. This was thought a very pretty Compariſon. It came to be a Subject for Ballads, and upon the Peace between the King and Parliament, it reviv'd, and was apply'd to thoſe who were not accommodated with the Court; and we ſtudied to give it all poſſible Currency, becauſe we obſerv'd it augmented the Heat of the People. We therefore reſolv'd that Night to wear Hatbands made in the Figure of a Sling, and had a great Quantity of them made ready, to be diſtributed among a Parcel of blunt Fellows, and we wore them our ſelves laſt of all; for it would have look'd like much Affectation, and have ſpoil'd all, had we been the firſt in the Mode. It is inexpreſſible what Influence this Trifle had upon the People, their Bread, Hats, Gloves, Handkerchiefs, Fans, Garnitures, were *a-la-mode de Fronde*, and we our ſelves were more in the Faſhion by this Toy, than in reality. And the Truth is, we had need of all our Shifts, to ſupport us againſt the whole Royal Family. For altho' I had ſpoke to the Prince of *Conde* at Madame *de Longueville*'s, I could not ſuppoſe my ſelf thoroughly reconciled. He treated me indeed civilly, but with an Air of Coldneſs, and I know that he was fully perſwaded that I had complain'd of his Breach of a Promiſe which he made by me to ſome Members of Parliament; but as I had complain'd to no Body upon this Head, I begun to ſuſpect ſome Perſons ſtudied to ſet us at variance; I imagin'd it came from the Prince of *Conti*, who was naturally very malicious, and hated me, he knew not why. Madame *de Longueville* lov'd me no better. I always ſuſpected Madame *de Montbazon*, who had not

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near ſo much influence over Monſieur *de Beaufort* as I had, yet was too artful in Robbing him of all his Secrets. She did not love me neither, becauſe I depriv'd her of what might have made her moſt Conſiderable at Court.

Count *Fuenſaldagne* was not oblig'd to help me if he could. He was not pleas'd with the Conduct of Monſieur *de Bouillon*, who, in Truth, had neglected the deciſive Point for a General Peace, and he was much leſs ſatisfied with his own Miniſters, whom he uſed to call, his blind Moles; but he was pleas'd with me, for inſiſting always on the Peace between the two Crowns, without any View to a ſeparate one. He therefore ſent me *D. Antonio Pimentel*, to offer me any thing that was in the Power of the King, his Maſter, and to tell me, that as I could not but want Aſſiſtance, conſidering how I ſtood with the Miniſtry, a hundred Thouſand Crowns was at my Service; which was accordingly brought me in Bills of Exchange. That he did not deſire any Engagement of me for it. Nor did the King, his Maſter, propoſe any other Advantage, than the Pleaſure of Protecting me. But I thought fit to refuſe the Money for the preſent, telling D. *Antonio*, that I ſhould think my ſelf unworthy of the Protection of his Catholick Majeſty if I took any Gratuity while I was in no Capacity of ſerving him. That I was born a *Frenchman*, and by virtue of my Poſt, more particularly attached than another, to the Metropolis of the Kingdom. That it was my Misfortune to be embroil'd with the prime Miniſter of my King; but that my Reſentment ſhould never carry me to ſolicit Aſſiſtances among his Enemies, till I was forc'd for ſelf-preſervation. That the Divine Providence had caſt my Lot in *Paris*, where God, who knew the Purity of my Intentions, would enable me,

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me, in all probability, to maintain my ſelf by my own Intereſt. But in Caſe I wanted Protection, I was fully perſwaded I could no where find any ſo powerful and glorious as that of his Catholick Majeſty, to which I would always think it an Honour to have recourſe. *Fuenſaldagne* was ſatisfied with my Anſwer, and ſent back Don *Antonio Pimentel*, with a Letter from the Arch-Duke, aſſuring me, that upon a Line from my Hand, he would march with all the Forces of the King his Maſter to my Aſſiſtance.

MEMOIRS

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MEMOIRS

OF THE

Cardinal *De* RETZ, &c.

BOOK III.

MADAME,

CArdinal *Mazarin* thought of nothing elſe now, but how to rid himſelf of the Obligations he lay under to the Prince of *Conde*, who had actually ſaved him from the Gallows. And his principal View was, an Alliance with the Houſe of *Vendome*, who had, on ſome Occaſions, oppoſed the Intereſt of the Family of *Conde*.

In *Paris*, the People libell'd not only the Cardinal, but the Queen. Indeed it was not our Intereſt to diſcourage Libels and Ballads againſt the Cardinal; but it concerned us to ſuppreſs

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ſuch as were levell'd againſt the Queen and Government. 'Tis not to be imagin'd what Uneaſineſs the Warmth of the People gave us upon that Head. Two Criminals being condemn'd to be hang'd for publiſhing ſome Things fit to be burnt, one of whom was a Printer, for Libelling the Queen, when they were upon the Ladders, they cry'd out, They were to be put to Death for publiſhing Verſes againſt *Mazarin*; upon which the People reſcued them from Juſtice.

On the other Hand, ſome gay young Gentlemen of the Court, who were in *Mazarin's* Intereſt, had a Mind to make his Name familiar to the *Pariſians*, and for that End, made a ſhining Figure in the publick Walks of the *Tuilleries*, where they had grand Suppers with Muſick, and drank the Cardinal's Health publickly. We took little notice of it, till they boaſted at St. *Germain* that the *Frondeurs* were glad to give them the Wall. And then we thought it high Time to correct them, leſt the common People ſhould think they did it by Authority. For this End, Monſieur *de Beaufort* and a Hundred other Gentlemen, went one Night to the Houſe where they ſupp'd, overturn'd the Table, and broke the Muſicians Violins over their Heads.

Being inform'd that the Prince of *Conde* intended to oblige the King to return to *Paris*, I was reſolv'd to have all the Merit of an Action which would be ſo acceptable to the Citizens. I therefore reſolv'd to go to the Court at *Compiegne*, which my Friends very much oppos'd, for fear of the Danger to which I might be expos'd; but I told them, that what is *abſolutely neceſſary is not dangerous.*

I went accordingly, and as I was going up Stairs to the Queen's Apartments, a Man, whom I never ſaw before or ſince, put a Note in my Hand, with theſe Words, *If you enter the King's Lodgings,*

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Lodgings, you are a dead Man; but I was got in already, and 'twas too late to go back. Being past the Guard Chamber, I thought my self secure. I told the Queen, that I was come to assure Her Majesty of my most humble Obedience, and of the Disposition the Church of *Paris* was in to perform all the Services she ow'd to their Majesties. The Queen seem'd highly pleased, and was very kind to me; but when we mention'd the Cardinal, tho' she urged me to it, I excused my self from going to see him, with assuring Her Majesty, that such a Visit would put me out of Capacity of doing her Service. It was impossible for Her to contain Her self any longer; She blush'd, and 'twas with much ado that She forbore giving me harsh Language, as she Herself confessed afterwards.

Servien said one Day, that there was a Design to Assassinate me at his Table, by the Abbot *Fouquet*; and Monsieur *de Vendome*, who was just come from his Table, press'd me to be gone, saying, that there were wicked Designs Hatching against me.

I return'd to *Paris*, having accomplished every thing I wanted; for I removed the Suspicion of the Court, that the *Frondeurs* were against the King's Return. I threw upon the Cardinal all the Odium attending his Majesty's Delay. I brav'd *Mazarin*, as it were, upon his Throne, and secured to my self the chief Honour of the King's Return.

The Court was receiv'd at *Paris* as Kings always were, and ever will be; namely, with Acclamations, which only please such as love to be flatter'd. A Parcel of old Women were posted at the Entrance of the Suburbs, to cry out, *God save his Eminence*, who sat in the King's Coach, and thought himself Lord of *Paris*; but at the end of three or four Days found himself much mistaken. Ballads and Libels still flew about. The *Frondeurs* appear'd bolder than ever. Monsieur *de Beaufort* and I rode

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rode sometimes alone, with one Lacquey only behind our Coach, and at other times we went with a Retinue of fifty Men in Livery, and a Hundred Gentlemen. We diversify'd the Scene as we thought it would be most acceptable to the Spectators. The Court Party, who blam'd us from Morning to Night, did nevertheless imitate us in their Way: Every Body took an Advantage of the Ministry from our continual pelting of his Eminence. Monsieur the Prince, who always made too much or too little of the Cardinal, continued to treat him contemptibly; and being disgusted for being refused the Superintendence of the Seas, the Cardinal endeavour'd to sooth him with the vain Hopes of other Advantages.

The Prince being one Day at Court, and seeing the Cardinal give himself extraordinary Airs, said, as he was going out of the Queen's Cabinet, *Adieu Mars.* This was told over all the City in a quarter of an Hour. I and *Noirmoutier* went by his Appointment to his House at 4 a Clock in the Morning, when he seem'd to be at a great Nonplus: He said, that he could not determine to begin a Civil War, which, tho' the only Means to separate the Queen from the Cardinal, to whom she was so strongly attach'd, yet 'twas both against his Conscience and Honour. He added, that he should never forget his Obligations to us; and that if he should come to any Terms with the Court, he would, if we thought proper, accommodate our Affairs also; and that if we had not a Mind to be reconciled to the Court, he would, in case it did attack us, publickly undertake our Protection. We answered, that we had no other Design in our Proposals, than the Honour of being his humble Servants; and that we should be very sorry if he had retarded his Reconciliation with the Queen upon our Account, praying that we might be permitted to continue with the same Disposi-

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tion towards the Cardinal as we were then in, which we declar'd should not hinder us from paying all the Respect and Duty which we profess'd for his Highness.

I can't forget to acquaint you, that Madame *de Guimene*, who run away from *Paris* in a Fright, the Moment it was besieged, no sooner heard that I had paid a Visit to the Lady *Chevreuse*, but she returned to Town in a Rage. I was in such a Passion with her for having cowardly deserted me, that I took her by the Throat; and she was so enrag'd at my familiarity with Mademoiselle *de Chevreuse*, that she threw a Candlestick at my Head; but in a quarter of an Hour we were very good Friends.

The Prince of *Conde* was no sooner reconciled with the Court, but he was publickly reproach'd in the City for breaking his Word with the *Frondeurs*; but I convinc'd him that he could not think such Treatment strange in a City so justly exasperated against *Mazarin*, and that nevertheless, he might depend on my best Services, for which he assur'd me of his constant Friendship.

Moissans, now Mareschal *d' Albret*, who was at the Head of the King's *Gens d' Armes*, did accustom himself and others to threaten the chief Minister, who augmented the publick Odium against himself; by re-establishing *Emery*, a Man detested by all the Kingdom. We were not a little alarm'd at this re-establishment, because this Man, who knew *Paris* better than the Cardinal, distributed Money among the People to very good Purpose. *This is a singular Science, which proves either very advantageous or hurtful in its Consequences, according to the Wisdom or Folly of the Distributor.*

These Donatives, laid out with Discretion and Secrecy, oblig'd us to incorporate our selves more and more into the Bulk of the People; and finding a fit Opportunity for this Performance, we took

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took care not to let it slip, which, if they had been ruled by me, we had not done so soon, for we were not yet forced to make use of such Expedients. *It is not safe in a Faction, where you are only upon the Defensive, to do what you are not press'd to do; but the Uneasiness of the Subalterns on such Occasions is troublesome, because they believe that as soon as you seem to be inactive, all is lost.* I preached every Day, that the Way was yet rough, and therefore must be made more plain, and that Patience in the present Case, was productive of greater Effects than Activity, but no Body comprehended the Truth of what I said.

An unlucky Expression, dropt on this Occasion by the Princess *de Guimene*, had an incredible Influence upon the People: She called to Mind a Ballad formerly made upon the Regiment of *Brulon*, which was said to consist of two Dragoons only, and four Drummers; and in as much as she hated the *Frond*, she told me very pleasantly, that our Party being reduced to fourteen, might be justly compared to that Regiment of *Brulon*. *Noirmoutier* and *Laigues* were offended at this Expression to that degree, that they continually murmur'd, because I neither accommodated Affairs, nor push'd them to the last Extremity. Upon which I observ'd, that *Heads of Factions are no longer their Masters, than they are either able to prevent, or allay the Murmurs of the People.*

The Revenues of the Town-House, which are as it were the Patrimony of the Middling sort of People, and which, if well managed, might be of special Service to the King, in securing to his Interest an infinite Number of those People, who are always the most formidable in Revolutions; this sacred Fund, I say, suffered much by the Licentiousness of the Times, the Ignorance of *Mazarin*, and the Prevarication of the Officers of the Town-House, who were his Dependents; so that

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the Poor Annuitants met in great Numbers at the Town-House; but as such Assemblies, without the Prince's Authority, are reckoned illegal, the Parliament pass'd an Arret to suppress them. They were privately countenanced by Monsieur *de Beaufort* and me, to whom they sent a solemn Deputation, and they made choice of 12 Syndics, to be a Check upon the Provost *des Merchands*.

On the 11*th* of *December*, a Pistol, as it had been concerted beforehand, was fired into the Coach of *Joli*, one of the Syndics, which President *Charton*, another of the Syndics, thinking was aim'd at himself, the Marquis *de la Boulaie* ran as if the Devil had been in him, while the Parliament was sitting, into the Middle of the great Hall, with 15 or 20 sorry Fellows, crying out, *To Arms*. He did the like in the Streets, but in vain; and went to *Broussel* and me; but the former reprimanded him after his Way, and I threatned to throw him out at the Window; for I had reason to believe, he acted in Concert with the Cardinal, tho' he pretended to be a *Frondeur*.

The Artifice of *Servien* united Monsieur the Prince to the Cardinal, because he found himself obliged to defend himself against the *Frondeurs*, who, as he believed, fought to assassinate him. All those that were his own Creatures, thought they were not zealous enough for his Service, if they did not exaggerate the imminent Danger he had escaped, and the Court Parasites confounded the Morning Adventure with this at Night. And upon this course Canvass, they daubed all that the basest Flattery, blackest Imposture, and the most ridiculous Credulity, was capable of imagining. And we were informed the next Morning, that 'twas the common Rumour over all the City, that we had form'd a Design of Seizing the King's Person, and carrying him to the Town House, and to assassinate Monsieur the Prince.

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Monſieur *de Beaufort* and I agreed to go out and ſhew our ſelves to the People, whom we found in ſuch a Conſternation, that I believe the Court might then have attack'd us with ſucceſs. Madame *de Montbazon* adviſed us to take Poſt-Horſes and ride off, ſaying, that there was nothing more eaſie than to deſtroy us, becauſe we had put our ſelves into the Hands of our ſworn Enemies. I ſaid, that we had better hazard our Lives than our Honour. To which ſhe replied: "'Tis not "that, but your Nymphs, I believe, which "keeps you here; (meaning Madames *de Chevreuſe* and *Guimene*,) "I expect, ſays ſhe, to be be-"friended for my own ſake, and don't I deſerve "it? I can't conceive how you can be amuſed "by a wicked old Hag, and by a Girl, if poſſi-"ble, more fooliſh than the other. We are con-"tinually diſputing about that ſilly Wretch, (pointing at M. *de Beaufort*, who was playing at Cheſs) "Let us take him with us, and go to *Peronne*."

You are not to wonder, that ſhe talk'd thus contemptibly of M. *de Beaufort*, whom ſhe ever tax'd with Impotency, for 'tis certain, that his Love was purely *Platonic*; for he never ask'd any Favour of her, and ſeem'd very uneaſie with her for eating Fleſh on *Fridays*. She was ſo ſweet upon me, and withal ſuch a charming Beauty, that being naturally indiſpoſed to let ſuch Opportunities ſlip, I was melted into a Tenderneſs for her, notwithſtanding my ſuſpicions of her, conſidering the then Scituation of Affairs, and would have had her gone with me into the Cabinet; but her firſt Preliminary was, to go to *Peronne*, which put an end to our Amours.

Monſieur *de Beaufort* waited on the Prince, and was well receiv'd; but I could not gain Admittance.

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The 14*th*, the Prince of *Conde* went to Parliament, and demanded that a Committee might be appointed to enquire into the horrid Aſſaſſination intended against his Perſon.

Tho' the *Frondeurs* were not aſleep in the mean time, yet moſt of our Friends were diſpirited, and all very weak.

The Curates of *Paris* were my moſt hearty Friends, they labour'd with incredible Zeal among the People. And the Curate of St. *Gervais* ſent me this Meſſage: *Do but rally again, and get off the Aſſaſſination, and in a Week, you'll be ſtronger than your Enemies.*

I was inform'd that the Queen had writ to my Uncle, the Archbiſhop of *Paris*, to be ſure to go to the Parliament on the 23*d*, the Day that *Beaufort*, *Brouſſel*, and I, were to be impeach'd, becauſe I had no Right to ſit in the Houſe if he was preſent. I begg'd of him not to go; but my Uncle being a Man of little Senſe, and that much out of Order, and being moreover fearful, and ridiculouſly jealous of me, had promiſed the Queen to go. And all that we could get out of him was, that he would defend me in Parliament, better than I could defend my ſelf. 'Tis to be obſerved, that tho' he chatter'd to us like a *Mag-Pye* in Private, yet in Publick he was as mute as a Fiſh. A Chirurgeon, who was in the Archbiſhop's Service, going to viſit him, commended him for his Courage in reſiſting the Importunities of his Nephew, who, ſaid he, had a Mind to bury him alive, and encouraged him to riſe with all haſte, and go to the Parliament-Houſe; but he was no ſooner out of his Bed, than the Surgeon ask'd him in a Fright, *How he did? Very well*, ſaid my Lord; *but that's impoſſible*, ſaid the Surgeon, *you look like Death*, and feeling his Pulſe, he told him, *he was in a high Fever*; upon which, my Lord Archbiſhop went to Bed again,

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gain, and all the Kings and Queens in Chriſtendom could not get him out for a Fortnight.

We went to the Parliament, and found there the Princes, with near a Thouſand Gentlemen, and I may ſay, the whole Court. I had few ſalutes in the Hall, becauſe it was generally thought I was an undone Man. When I was enter'd the great Chamber, I heard a Hum, like that at the end of a pleaſing Period in a Sermon. When I had taken my Place, I ſaid, that hearing we were tax'd with a ſeditious Conſpiracy, we were come to offer our Heads to the Parliament if guilty, and if innocent, to demand Juſtice upon our Accuſers; and that tho' I knew no Right the Company had to call me to Account, yet I would renounce all Privileges, to make my Innocence appear to a Body, for whom I had all my Life long the greateſt Attachment and Veneration.

Then the Informations were read againſt what they call'd the public Conſpiracy, from which it had pleas'd Almighty God to deliver the State and the Royal Family; after which I made a Speech, in Subſtance as follows.

"I don't believe, Gentlemen, that in any of "the Ages paſt, Perſons of our Quality had "ever any perſonal Summons, grounded meerly upon Hearſays: Neither can I think, that "Poſterity will ever believe, that theſe Hearſays were admitted from the Mouths of the "moſt infamous Miſcreants that ever got out of "a Goal. *Canto* was condemn'd to the Gallows at "*Pau*; *Pichon*, to the Wheel, at *Mans*; *Sociande* "is a Rogue upon Record. Pray, Gentlemen, Judge of their Evidence by their Character and Profeſſion. But this is not all, they "have the diſtinguiſhing Property of being Informers by Authority. I am ſorely griev'd, "that the Defence of our Honour, which is en-

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" join'd us by the Laws of God and Man, ſhould " oblige me to expoſe to Light, under the moſt " innocent of Kings, ſuch Abominations as were " deteſted in the moſt corrupt Ages of Anti- " quity, and under the worſt of Tyrants. But I " muſt tell you, Sirs, that *Canto*, *Sociande*, and *Gor-* " *gibus*, are authorized to inform againſt us by a " Commiſſion, ſigned by that Auguſt Name which " ſhould never be employ'd but for the Preſerva- " tion of the moſt ſacred Laws, and which Car- " dinal *Mazarin*, who knows no Law but that of " Revenge, which he meditates againſt the De- " fenders of the publick Liberty, has forced M. " *Tellier*, Secretary of State, to counterſign.

" We demand Juſtice, Gentlemen, but we " don't demand it of you, till we have " firſt moſt humbly implored this Houſe to " execute the ſtricteſt Juſtice that the Laws " have provided againſt Rebels, if it appears " that we have been concerned directly or in- " directly in raiſing this laſt Diſturbance. Is it " poſſible, Gentlemen, that a Grand Child of " *Henry* the Great; that a Senator of M. *Brouſſel*'s " Age and Probity; and that the *Coadjutor* of " *Paris*, ſhould be ſo much as ſuſpected of be- " ing concern'd in a Sedition, rais'd by a Hot- " brain'd Fool, at the Head of fifteen of the " vileſt of the Mob? I am fully perſwaded it " would be ſcandalous for me to inſiſt longer on " this Subject. This is all I know, Gentle- " men, of the Modern Conſpiracy.

The Applauſes that came from the Court of Inquiries were inexpreſſible, many Voices were heard exclaiming againſt Patent Witneſſes. Honeſt *Doujat*, who was one of the Perſons appointed to make the Report, and who had acquainted me of the Facts by the Attorney General *Talon*, his Kinſman, acknowledg'd it publickly, by pretending to make the Thing appear leſs odious. He got

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got up therefore as if he were in a Paſſion, and ſpoke very artfully, to this purpoſe: "Theſe "Patents, Sir, are not to accuſe you, as you "are pleaſed to ſay, but only to diſcover what "paſs'd in the Aſſemblies of the Annuitants at "the Town-Houſe. If the King did not pro-"miſe Impunity to ſuch as will give him Infor-"mation neceſſary for his Service, and which "ſometimes can't be come at without involving "the Evidence in a Crime, how ſhould the "King be inform'd at all? There is a great "deal of difference between Patents of this Na-"ture, and Commiſſions granted on purpoſe to "accuſe you.

You might have ſeen Fire in the Face of every Member. The firſt Preſident call'd out, *To Order*, and ſaid, Meſſieurs *de Beaufort*, the *Coadjutor*, and *Brouſſel*, you are accuſed, and you muſt withdraw. As *Beaufort* and I were leaving our Seats, *Brouſſel* ſtopp'd us, ſaying, Neither you, Gentlemen, nor I, are bound to depart, till we are order'd by the Company: The firſt Preſident, who all the World knows to be our Adverſary, ſhould go out if we muſt. I added, *and Monſieur the Prince*; who thereupon ſpoke with a ſcornful Air, *What I, muſt I retire? Yes, yes, Sir*, ſaid I, *Juſtice is no Reſpecter of Perſons.* The Preſident *de Meſmes* ſaid, *No, Monſieur, you muſt not go out, unleſs the Company orders you. If the* Coadjutor *inſiſts that your Highneſs retire, he muſt demand it by a Petition. As for himſelf, he is accuſed, and therefore muſt go out in courſe; but ſeeing he raiſes Difficulties and Objections to the contrary, we muſt put it to the Vote*; and it paſs'd that we ſhould withdraw. Mean while, moſt of the Members paſs'd Encomiums upon us, Satyrs upon the Miniſtry, and Anathema's upon the Patent Witneſſes. Nor were the Curates and the Pariſhioners

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oners wanting in their Duty on this Occaſion. The People came in Shoals from all Parts of *Paris*, to the Parliament-Houſe. Nevertheleſs, no Diſreſpect was ſhewn either to the King's Brother, or to Monſieur the Prince; only ſome in their Preſence cry'd out, *God bleſs Monſieur* de Beaufort, *God bleſs the* Coadjutor.

Monſieur *de Beaufort* told the firſt Preſident next Day, that the State and Royal Family being in Danger, every Moment was precious, and the Offenders ought to receive their condign Puniſhment, concluding that the Chambers ought to be aſſembled without loſs of Time. *Brouſſel* attack'd the firſt Preſident with a great deal of Warmth. Eight or ten Counſellors enter'd immediately into the great Chamber, to teſtifie their Aſtoniſhment at the Indolence and Indifferency the Houſe was in, after ſuch a furious Conſpiracy, and that ſo little Zeal was ſhewn to proſecute the Criminals. Meſſieurs *de Bignon* and *Talon*, Attornies General, alarmed the People, by declaring, that as for themſelves, they had no Hand in the Concluſions, and that they were ridiculous. The firſt Preſident returned very calm Anſwers, knowing very well that we ſhould have been glad to have put him into a Paſſion, in order to catch at ſome Expreſſion that might bear an Exception in Law.

On *Chriſtmas* Day, I preach'd ſuch a Sermon on Chriſtian Charity, without mentioning the preſent Affairs, that the Women even wept for the unjuſt Perſecution of an Archbiſhop, who had ſo great a Tenderneſs for his very Enemies.

On the 29th, Monſieur *Beaufort* and I went to the Parliament-Houſe, accompanied with a Body of three Hundred Gentlemen, to make it appear that we were more than Tribunes of the People, and to ſcreen our ſelves from the Inſults of the Court-Party. We poſted our ſelves

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in the 4th Chamber of the Inqueſts among the Courtiers, with whom we convers'd very frankly, yet upon the leaſt Noiſe, when the Debates ran high in the great Chamber, we were ready to cut one another's Throats eight or ten times every Morning. We were all diſtruſtful of one another, and I may venture to ſay, there were not twenty Perſons in the Houſe but were arm'd with Poinards. As for my ſelf, I was reſolv'd to take none of thoſe Weapons inconſiſtent with my Character, till one Day, when it was expected the Houſe would be more warm than ordinary; and then Monſieur *de Beaufort* ſeeing one end of it peeping out of my Pocket, expoſed it to Monſieur the Prince's Captain of the Guards and others, ſaying, *See, Gentlemen, the* Coadjutor's *Prayer-Book.* I underſtood the Jeſt, but really I could not well digeſt it.

We Petition'd the Parliament that the firſt Preſident, being our ſworn Enemy, might be expell'd the Houſe; but it was put to the Vote, and carry'd 36 in the Majority, that he ſhould keep his Station of Judge.

Paris had like to have been all in Confuſion, upon account of the Impriſonment of *Belot*, one of the Syndics of the Town-Houſe Annuitants, who being Arreſted without a Decree, Preſident *de la Grange* made it appear that there was nothing more contrary to the Declaration for which they had formerly ſo exerted themſelves. The firſt Preſident maintaining the Legality of his Impriſonment, *Daurat*, a Counſellor of the third Chamber, told him, that he was amazed that a Gentleman, who was ſo lately near being expell'd, could be ſo reſolute for violating the Laws in the Face of the Sun. Whereupon the firſt Preſident roſe up in a Paſſion, ſaying, that there was neither Order nor Diſcipline in the Houſe, and that he would reſign his Place to another

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another for whom they had more Reſpect. This Motion put the great Chamber all in a Ferment, which was felt in the fourth, where the Gentlemen of both Parties haſten'd to diſingage from one another, every one ſhifting to his reſpective Side, and if the moſt inſignificant Lacquey had then but drawn a Sword, *Paris* had been all in an Uproar.

We ſollicited very earneſtly for our Tryal, which they delay'd as much as 'twas in their Power, becauſe they could not chooſe but acquit us, and condemn the Patent Witneſſes. Various were the Pretences for putting it off, and though the Informations were not of Weight enough to whip a Porter, yet they were read over and over at every turn, to prolong the Time.

The Public began to be perſuaded of our Innocence, as alſo the Prince of *Conde*; and M. *de Bouillon* told me, that he very much ſuſpected it for a Trick of the Cardinal's.

The 1*ſt* of *January* 1650, Madame *de Chevreuſe*, having a Mind to viſit the Queen, with whom ſhe had entertain'd, in all her Diſgrace, an unaccountable Correſpondence, went to the King's Palace. The Cardinal taking her aſide in the Queen's little Cabinet, ſaid to her, *You love the Queen, is it poſſible for you not to make your Friends love her? How can that be*, ſaid ſhe? *The Queen is no more a Queen, but an humble Servant to Monſieur the Prince. Good God*, reply'd the Cardinal, *we might do great Matters if we could get ſome Men into our Intereſt. But Monſieur* de Beaufort *is at the Service of Madame* de Montbazon, *and ſhe is devoted to* Vigneul *and the* Coadjutor. . . . . At the mention of which he ſmiled. *I take you, Sir*, ſaid Madame *de Chevreuſe, I'll anſwer for him and for her.* Thus the Converſation began, and the Cardinal making a Sign to the Queen with

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a Nod, Madame *de Chevreuſe* had a long Conference that Night with Her Majeſty, who gave her this Billet for me, written and ſigned with her own Hand.

" Notwithſtanding what has paſs'd, and what " is now doing, I can't but perſuade my ſelf that " Monſieur the *Coadjutor* is in my Intereſt. I " deſire to ſee him, and that no Body may " know it but Madame and Mademoiſelle *Chev-* " *reuſe*. This Name ſhall be your Security,

ANNE.

Being convinced that the Queen was downright angry with the Prince of *Conde* upon Account of a Rumour ſpread abroad that he had had ſome intrigueing Gallantries with her Majeſty, I weigh'd all Circumſtances, and return'd this Anſwer to the Queen.

" Never was there one Moment of my Life, " wherein I was not equally at your Majeſty's " Devotion. I am ſo far from conſulting my " own Safety, that I would gladly die for your " Service. . . . . " . . . I'll go to any Place your Majeſty " ſhall order me.

My Anſwer, with the Queen's Letter enclos'd, was carry'd back by Madame *de Chevreuſe*, and well receiv'd. I went immediately to Court, and was carry'd up the Back-ſtairs by the Queen's Train-bearer to the *Petit Oratoire*, where Her Majeſty was ſhut up all alone. She ſhewed me as much Kindneſs as ſhe could, conſidering her Hatred againſt Monſieur the Prince, or her Friendſhip for the Cardinal, which of the two ſeem'd to be the moſt prevalent, becauſe in ſpeaking of the

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the Civil-Wars, and of the Cardinal's Friendſhip for me, ſhe call'd him *the poor Cardinal* twenty times over. Half an Hour after came in the Cardinal, who begg'd the Queen to diſpenſe with the Reſpect he ow'd Her Majeſty, while he embrac'd me in her Preſence. He was pleaſed to ſay, he was very ſorry that he could not give me that very Moment his own Cardinal's Cap. He talked ſo much of Favours, Gratifications, and Rewards, that I was obliged to explain my ſelf, *knowing that nothing is more deſtructive of new Reconciliations, than a ſeeming Unwillingneſs to be obliged to thoſe with whom you are reconciled.* I anſwered, *That the greateſt Recompence I could expect, tho' I had ſaved the Crown, was to have the Honour of ſerving Her Majeſty,* and I humbly prayed the Queen to give me no other Recompence; that at leaſt I might have the Satisfaction to make Her Majeſty ſenſible, *that this was the only Reward I valued.*

The Cardinal deſir'd the Queen to command me to accept of the Nomination to the Cardinal Dignity, which, ſaid he, *la Riviere* has ſnatched with Inſolence, and acknowledged with Treachery. I excuſed my ſelf with ſaying, that I had taken a Reſolution never to accept of the Cardinalſhip by any Means which ſeemed to have relation to the Civil Wars, to the end I might convince the Queen, that 'twas the moſt rigid Neceſſity had ſeparated me from her Service. I rejected, upon the ſame Account, all the other advantageous Propoſitions he made me; and he ſtill inſiſting that the Queen could do no leſs than confer upon me ſomething that was very conſiderable, for the ſignal Service I was like to do Her Majeſty. I anſwer'd, "There is one "Point, wherein the Queen can do me more "good than if ſhe gave me a Triple Crown. "Her Majeſty told me juſt now, that ſhe will "cauſe

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" cauſe Monſieur the Prince to be apprehended. " A Perſon of his high Rank and Merit, neither " can, nor ought to be always ſhut up in a Pri- " ſon. When he comes abroad, he will be full " of Reſentment againſt me, tho', I hope, my " Dignity will be my Protection. There are a " great many Gentlemen engaged with me, who, " in ſuch a Juncture, would be ready to ſerve " the Queen. And if it ſeem'd good to your " Majeſty to entruſt one of them with ſome im- " portant Employment, I would be more obliged " than with Ten Cardinal Hats.

The Cardinal told the Queen, that nothing was more juſt, and the Affair ſhould be conſidered between him and me.

We had ſeveral Conferences, on which we agreed on Gratifications for ſome of our Friends, and to arreſt the Prince of *Conde*, the Prince of *Conti*, and the Duke *de Longueville*.

The Cardinal took an occaſion to ſpeak of the Treachery of *la Riviere*. *This Man*, ſaid he, *takes me to be the moſt ſtupid Creature living, and thinks he ſhall be to Morrow a Cardinal.* " I diverted my " ſelf to Day, with letting him try on ſome " ſcarlet Cloth I lately receiv'd from *Italy*, and " I put it near his Face, to know whether " a ſcarlet Colour or Carnation became him " beſt.

I heard from *Rome*, that his Eminence was not behind hand with *la Riviere* upon the Score of Treachery. For on the very Day that he got him nominated by the King, he writ a Letter to Cardinal *Sachelli*, fitter to recommend him to a yellow Cap, than to a red one. This Letter nevertheleſs was full of Tenderneſs for *la Riviere*, which *Mazarin* knew was the only Way to ruine him with Pope *Innocent*, who hated *Mazarin* and all his Adherents.

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Madame *de Chevreuſe* undertook to ſee how the Duke of *Orleans* would reliſh the Deſign of impriſoning the Princes. She told him, that tho' the Queen was not ſatisfied with Monſieur the Prince, yet ſhe could not form a Reſolution of Apprehending him, without the Concurrence of his Royal Highneſs: She magnified the Advantages of bringing over to the King's Service the powerful Faction of the *Fronde*, and the daily Dangers *Paris* was expoſed to, both of Fire and Sword. This laſt Reaſon touch'd him as much or more than all; for he trembled every time he came to the Parliament, and Monſieur the Prince very often could not prevail with him to go at all, and a Fit of the Colic was generally aſſigned as the Reaſon of his Abſence. In fine he conſented, and on the 18*th* of *January*, the three Princes were put under an Arreſt by three Officers of the Queen's Guards.

The People having a Notion that Monſieur *de Beaufort* was apprehended, ran to their Arms, which I cauſed to be laid down immediately, by marching thro' the Streets with Flambeaux before me. Monſieur *de Beaufort* did the like, and the Night concluded with Bonefires.

The Queen ſent a Letter from the King to the Parliament, with the Reaſons why the Prince of *Conde* was confined, which were neither ſtrong, nor well ſet off. However, we obtained an Arret for our Abſolution.

The Princeſſes were order'd to retire to *Chantilli*. Madame *de Longueville* went towards *Normandy*, but found no Sanctuary there; for the Parliament of *Rouen* ſent her a Meſſage, to deſire her to depart the City; Monſieur the Duke of *Richelieu* would not receive her into *Havre*; and from thence ſhe retir'd to *Diepe*.

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Monſieur *de Bouillon*, who, after the Peace, was ſtrongly attach'd to the Prince of *Conde*, went in great haſte to *Turenne*; Monſieur *de Turenne* got into *Stenai*; Monſieur *de la Rochefoucaut*, then Prince of *Marſillac*, returned home to *Poitou*; and Mareſchal *de Breze*, Father in Law to Monſieur the Prince of *Conde*, went to *Saumur*.

There was a Declaration publiſhed and regiſter'd in Parliament againſt them, whereby they were order'd to wait on the King within fifteen Days, upon Pain of being proceeded againſt as Diſturbers of the Publick Peace, and guilty of High-Treaſon.

The Court carried all before them. Madame *de Longueville*, upon the King's going into *Normandy*, eſcaped by Sea into *Holland*, whence ſhe went afterwards to *Arras*, to try *la Tour*, one of her Husband's Penſioners, who offer'd her his Perſon; but refus'd her the Place. She repair'd at laſt to *Stenai*, whither Monſieur *de Turenne* went to meet her, with all the Friends and Servants of the confined Princes that he could muſter. The King went from *Normandy* to *Burgundy*, and returned to *Paris*, crown'd with Lawrels of Victory.

The Princeſs Dowager, who had been order'd to retire to *Bourges*, came with a Petition to Parliament, praying for their Protection to ſtay in *Paris*, and that ſhe might have Juſtice done her for the Illegal Confinement of the Princes her Children. She fell at the Feet of the Duke of *Orleans*, begg'd the Protection of the Duke of *Beaufort*, and ſaid to me, That ſhe had the Honour to be my Kinſwoman. Monſieur *de Beaufort* was very much perplex'd what to do, and I was e'en ready to die for Shame; but we could do nothing for her, and ſhe was oblig'd to go to *Valeri*.

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Several private Annuitants, who had made a Noiſe in the Aſſemblies at the Town-Houſe, were afraid of being call'd to Account, and therefore after Monſieur the Prince was arreſted, they deſired me to procure a General Amneſty. I ſpoke about it to the Cardinal, who ſeemed very pliable, and ſhewing me his Hatband, which was *a-la-mode de Fronde*, ſaid, *He hoped himſelf to be compriz'd in that Amneſty*; but he ſhuffled it off ſo long, that it was not publiſh'd and regiſter'd in Parliament till the 12*th* of *May*, and it had not been obtain'd then, had not I threaten'd vigorouſly to proſecute the Patent Witneſſes, which they mightily apprehended, being ſo conſcious of the Heinouſneſs of their Crime, that two of them had already made their eſcape.

The preſent Calm hardly deſerv'd that Name, for the Storm of War began to riſe again in ſeveral Places at once.

Madame *de Longueville* and Monſieur *de Turenne*, made a Treaty with the *Spaniards*; and the latter join'd their Army, which entred *Picardie*, and beſieged *Guiſe*, after having taken *Catelet*; but for want of Proviſion, the Arch-Duke was obliged to raiſe the Siege. Monſieur *de Turenne* levy'd Troops with *Spaniſh* Money, and was join'd by the greateſt Part of the Officers commanding the Troops that went under the Name of the Prince's Troops.

The wretched Conduct of Monſieur *d'Eſpernon*, had ſo confounded the Affairs of *Guienne*, that nothing but his removal could retrieve them.

One of the greateſt Miſchiefs which the Deſpotick Authority of Miniſters has occaſion'd in the World in theſe later Times, is a Practice introduced by their own private miſtaken Intereſts, of ſupporting Superiours always againſt their Inferiors. 'Tis a Maxim borrowed from *Machiavel*, whom few underſtand, and whom too many

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many cry up for an able Man, because he was always wicked. He was very far from being a compleat Statesman, and was frequently out in his Politicks; but I think never more grosly mistaken than in this Maxim, which I observ'd as a great Weakness in *Mazarin*, who was therefore the less qualify'd to settle the Affairs of *Guienne*, which were in so much Confusion, that I believe, if the good Sense of *Jeannin* and *Villeroi* had been infus'd into the Brains of Cardinal *Richelieu*, it had not been sufficient to set them to rights.

Semeterre perceiving that the Cardinal *Mazarin* and I were not cordial Friends, undertook to reconcile us, and for that end carry'd me to the Cardinal, who embrac'd me very tenderly, said he laid his Heart upon the Table, ('twas one of his usual Phrases,) and protested he would talk as freely to me as if I was his own Son. I did not believe a Word of what he said; but I assur'd his Eminence, that I would speak to him as if he was my Father, and I was as good as my Word. I told him, I had no Personal Interest in View, but to disingage my self from the publick Disturbances, without any private Advantage, and that for the same Reason, I thought my self obliged to come off with Reputation and Honour. I desired him to consider, that my Age and want of Skill in Publick Affars, could not give him any Jealousie that I aim'd to be the first Minister. I conjur'd him to consider also, that the Influence I had over the People of *Paris*, supported by meer Necessity, did rather reflect Disgrace than Honour upon my Dignity; and, that he ought to believe, that this one Reason was enough to make me impatient to be rid of all these publick Broils; besides a thousand other Inconveniencies arising every Moment, which made me out of love with Faction: And as for

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the Cardinal Dignity, which might peradventure give him some Umbrage, I could tell him very sincerely what had been, and what was still my Notion of this Dignity, which I once foolishly imagin'd would be more Honourable for me to despise than to enjoy. I mentioned this Circumstance, to let him see, that in my tender Years I was no admirer of the Purple, and not very fond of it now; because I was persuaded that an Archbishop of *Paris* could hardly miss of obtaining that Dignity some time or other, according to form, by Actions purely Ecclesiastical; and that he should be loth to use any other Means to procure it: I said, that I should be extremely sorry, if my Purple was stain'd with the least Drop of Blood spilt in the Civil Wars; that I was resolv'd to clear my Hands of every thing that savors of Intrigue, before I would make, or suffer any Step which had any tendency that Way; that he knew, that for the same Reason, I would neither accept Money nor Abbeys, and that consequently, I was engag'd by the publick Declarations I had made upon all those Heads, to serve the Queen without any Interest; that the only View which continued me in the same Disposition, was to come off with Honour, to the end I might resume the spiritual Functions belonging to my Profession with safety; that I desired nothing of him, but the Accomplishment of an Affair, which would be more for the King's Service, than for my particular Interest; that he knew, that the next Day after the arresting of the Prince, he sent me with his Promise to the Annuitants of the Town-House, and that for want of Performance, those Men were persuaded that I was in Concert with the Court to deceive them. Lastly, I told him, that the Access I had to the Duke of *Orleans*, might perhaps give him Umbrage; but I desir'd him to consider, that I never sought that Honour, and

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and that I was very ſenſible of the Inconveniencies attending it. I enlarg'd upon this Head, which is the difficulteſt Point to be underſtood by Prime Miniſters, who are ſo fond of being freely admitted into a Prince's Preſence, that notwithſtanding all the Experience in the World, they can't help thinking, that therein conſiſts the Eſſence of Happineſs.

When Truth is come to a certain Point, it darts ſuch powerful Rays of Light as are irreſiſtible; but I never knew a Man who had ſo little Regard for Truth as *Mazarin*. He ſeem'd however more regardful of it than uſual, and I laid hold of the Occaſion, to tell him of the dangerous Conſequences of the Diſturbances of *Guienne*; and that if he continued to ſupport Monſieur *d'Eſpernon*, the Princes Faction would not let ſlip this Opportunity; that if the Parliament of *Bourdeaux* ſhould engage in their Party, it would not be long before that of *Paris* would do the ſame; and that after the late Conflagration in this Metropolis, he could not ſuppoſe but there was ſtill ſome Fire hid under the Aſhes; and that the factious Party had Reaſon to fear the heavy Puniſhment to which the whole Body of them is liable, as we our ſelves were two or three Months ago. The Cardinal began to yield, eſpecially when he was told, that Monſieur *de Bouillon* began to make a Diſturbance in the *Limouſin*, where M. *de la Rochefoucaut* had join'd him with ſome Troops.

To confirm our Reconciliation, a Marriage was propoſed between my Niece and his Nephew, to which he gave his conſent; but I was as much averſe to it, being not yet reſolv'd to bury my Family in that of *Mazarin*; nor did I ſet ſo great a Value on Grandure, as to purchaſe it with the publick Odium. However, it produced no Animoſity on either ſide, and his Friends

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knew that I ſhould be very glad to be employed in making a General Peace; they acted their Parts ſo well, that the Cardinal, whoſe Love Fit for me laſted about a Fortnight, promiſed me, as it were of his own accord, that I ſhould be gratified.

News came about this time from *Guienne*, that the Dukes *de Bouillon* and *Rochefoucaut* had carried Madame the Princeſs into *Bourdeaux*, together with Monſieur the Duke, her Son. The Parliament was not diſpleaſed with the People for receiving into their City Monſieur the Duke, yet they obſerv'd more Decorum than could be expected from Inhabitants of *Gaſcogne*, ſo irritated as they were againſt Monſieur *d' Eſpernon*. They order'd that Madame the Princeſs, Monſieur the Duke, Meſſieurs *de Bouillon* and *de Rochefoucaut*, ſhould have the Liberty to ſtay in *Bourdeaux*, provided they would promiſe to undertake nothing againſt the King's Service; and that the Petition of Madame the Princeſs ſhould be ſent to the King, with a moſt humble Remonſtrance from the Parliament upon the Confinement of the Princes. At the ſame Time, one of the Preſidents ſent advice to *Senneterre*, that the Parliament was not ſo far enraged, but that they would ſtill remember their Loyalty to the King, provided he did but remove Monſieur *d' Eſpernon*. But in caſe of any further delay, he would not anſwer for the Parliament, and much leſs for the People, who, being now managed and ſupported by the Prince's Party, would in a little time make themſelves Maſters of the Parliament. *Senneterre* did what he could to induce the Cardinal to make good Uſe of this Advice; and Monſieur *de Chateauneuf*, who was now Chancellor, talk'd wonderfully well upon the Point; but ſeeing the Cardinal gave no return to his Reaſons, but by exclaiming againſt the Parliament of *Bourdeaux*,

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deaux, for sheltering Men condemn'd by the King's Declaration, he told him very plainly: *Sir, if you do not accommodate Affairs to Day, you should have been by this time upon the* Garonne. The Event made it appear that *Chateauneuf* was in the right; for tho' the Parliament was very hot, they stood out a long time against the Madness of the People, spurr'd on by Monsieur *de Bouillon*, and issued an Arret, ordering an Envoy of *Spain*, who was sent thither to commence a Treaty with the Duke *de Bouillon*, to depart the City, and forbad any of their Body to visit such as had Correspondence with *Spain*, the Princess her self not excepted. Moreover, the Mob having undertaken to force the Parliament to unite with the Princes, they armed the Magistracy, who fired upon them, and made them retire.

A little before the King departed for *Guienne*, which was in the beginning of *July*, Advice came, that the Parliament of *Bourdeaux* had consented to an Union with the Princes, and sent a Deputy to the Parliament of *Paris*, and that the Deputy had orders to see neither the King nor the Ministers, and that the whole Province was disposed for a Revolt. The Cardinal was in an extream Consternation, and recommended himself to the Favour of the meanest Man of the *Fronde* with the greatest Suppleness imaginable.

As soon as the King came to the Neighbourhood of *Bourdeaux*, the Deputies of Parliament, who went to meet the Court at *Lebourne*, were peremptorily commanded to open the Gates of the City to the King, and to all his Troops; they answered, that one of their Privileges was, to guard the King themselves, while he was in any of their Towns. Upon this, Mareschal *de la Meilleraye* took the Castle of *Vaire*, where *Pichon* commanded, whom the Cardinal ordered to be hanged; and

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Monsieur *de Bouillon* hanged up an Officer in *Marsillac*'s Army, by way of Reprisal.

After that, the Mareschal besieged the City in Form, which despairing of Succours from *Spain*, was forc'd to capitulate upon the following Terms: That a General Pardon should be granted to all that had taken up Arms and treated with *Spain*; that all the Soldiers should be disbanded, except those that the King had a Mind to keep in his Pay; that Madame the Princess, and the Duke, should be at liberty to reside either in *Anjou* or at *Mouzon*, with no more than 200 Foot and 60 Horse; and that Monsieur *d'Espernon* should be recalled from the Government of *Guienne*.

The Princess had an Interview with both the King and Queen, at which there were great Conferences between the Cardinal and the Dukes *de Bouillon* and *Rochefoucaut*.

The Deputy from *Bourdeaux* arriving at *Paris* soon after the King's Departure, came immediately to Parliament, and after an eloquent Harangue, presented a Letter from the Parliament of *Bourdeaux*, together with their Arrets, and demanded an Union between the two Parliaments. After some Debates, it was resolv'd, that the Deputy should deliver his Credentials in Writing, which should be presented to his Majesty by the Deputies of the Parliament of *Paris*, who would at the same time most humbly beseech the Queen to restore Peace to *Guienne*.

The Duke of *Orleans* was against Debating about the Petition to the Queen for the Enlargement of the Princes, and the Banishment of Cardinal *Mazarin*, nevertheless, many of the Members voted for it, upon a Motion made by the President *Viole*, (who was a warm Zealot for the Prince of *Conde*,) not because he had hopes of carrying it, but on purpose to imbarass Monsieur *de Beaufort* and me, upon a Subject that we did not

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not care to ſpeak to; and yet did not dare to be altogether Silent in, without paſſing in ſome Meaſure for *Mazarins*. Preſident *Viole* did the Prince a great deal of Service on this Occaſion, for *Bourdet*, a brave Soldier, who had been a Captain of the Guards, and was attached to the Intereſt of the Prince, did an Action which emboldened the Party very much, tho' it had no Succeſs. He dreſſed himſelf, and fourſcore other Officers of his Troops, all in the Habit of Maſons, and having aſſembled many of the Dregs of the People, to whom he had diſtributed Money, came directly to the Duke of *Orleans* as he was going out, and cryed, *No Mazarin, God bleſs the Princes.* His Royal Highneſs, at this Apparition, and the firing of a Brace of Piſtols at the ſame time by *Bourdet*, ran to the great Chamber; but Monſieur *de Beaufort* ſtood his Ground ſo well with the Dukes Guards and our Men, that *Bourdet* was repuls'd, and thrown down the Parliament Stairs.

But the Confuſion in the great Chamber was ſtill worſe. There were daily Aſſemblies, wherein the Cardinal was ſeverely attack'd, and the Princes Party had the Pleaſure to expoſe us, as Accomplices with him. But what is very ſtrange is, that at the ſame time the Cardinal and his Friends accuſed us of correſponding with the Parliament of *Bourdeaux*, becauſe we maintained, in caſe the Court did not adjuſt Affairs there, we would infallibly bring the Parliament of *Paris* into the Intereſt of the Prince. If I was at the Point of Death, I ſhould have no need to be Confeſs'd upon Account of my Behaviour on this Occaſion. I acted with as much Sincerity in this Juncture, as if I had been the Cardinal's Nephew, tho' really it was not out of any Love to him, but becauſe I thought my ſelf obliged in Prudence to oppoſe the Progreſs of the Prince's Faction, owing to the fooliſh Conduct of his Enemies; and to this end, I was oblig'd as much to oppoſe the Flattery of the Cardinal's Tools, as the Efforts made by ſuch who were in the Service of the Prince. On

On the 3*d* of *September*, Preſident *Bailleul* returned with the other Deputies, and made a Report in Parliament of his Journey to Court, in Subſtance: That the Queen thank'd the Parliament for their good Intentions, and had commanded them to aſſure the Parliament in her Name, that ſhe was ready to reſtore Peace to *Guienne*; and that it had been done e're now, had not Monſieur *de Bouillon*, who had treated with the *Spaniards*, made himſelf Maſter of *Bourdeaux*, and thereby cut off the Effects of his Majeſty's Goodneſs.

The Duke of *Orleans* acquainted the Houſe, that he had receiv'd a Letter from the Arch-Duke, ſignifying that the King of *Spain* having ſent him full Powers to treat of a General Peace, he deſired earneſtly to negociate it with him. But his Royal Highneſs added, that he did not think it proper to return him any Anſwer till he had the Opinion of the Parliament. The Trumpeter who brought the Letter, beat a Parley at *Tiroir* Croſs, and ſpoke very ſeditious Words to the People. The next Day they found Libels poſted up and down the City in the Name of Monſieur *de Turenne*, ſetting forth that the Arch-Duke was coming with no other Diſpoſition than to make Peace; and in one of them were theſe Words: "It is your Buſineſs *Pariſians* to ſollicit "your falſe Tribunes, who are turn'd at laſt "Penſioners and Protectors of *Mazarin*, who have "for ſo long a time ſported themſelves with "your Fortunes and Repoſe, and ſpurred you "on, kept you back, and made you hot or cold, "according to the Caprices and different Pro-"greſs of their Ambition.

You ſee the State and Condition the *Frondeurs* were in at this Juncture, when they could not move one Step but to their own Diſadvantage. The Duke of *Orleans* ſpoke to me that Night with

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with a great deal of Bitterneſs againſt the Cardinal, which he had never done before, and ſaid, he had been trick'd by him twice, and that he was ruining himſelf, the State, and all of us, and would by ſo doing place the Prince of *Conde* upon the Throne.

In fine, Monſieur own'd, that 'twas not yet time to humble the Cardinal; therefore ſaid Monſieur *Bellievre*, *Let's be upon our Guard, this Man can give us the Slip every Moment.*

Next Day, a Letter was ſent from the Prince of *Conde* by the Baron *de Verderonne*, to the Arch-Duke, deſiring him to name the Time, Place, and Perſons for a Treaty. The Baron returned with a Letter from the Archduke to his Royal Highneſs, deſiring that the Conferences might be held between *Rheims* and *Rhetel*, and that they might meet there Perſonally, with ſuch others as they ſhall think fit to bring with them. The Court was ſurpriz'd, but however did not think fit to delay ſending full Powers to his Royal Highneſs to treat of a Peace on ſuch Terms as he thought reaſonable and advantageous for the King's Service, and there were join'd with him, tho' in ſubordination, Meſſieurs *Mole*, the firſt Preſident, *d' Avaux*, and my ſelf, with the Title of Ambaſſadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiaries. Monſieur *d' Avaux* oblig'd me to aſſure *Don Gabriel de Toledo*, in private, that if the *Spaniards* would but come to reaſonable Terms, we would conclude a Peace with them in two Days time. And his Royal Highneſs ſaid, that *Gabriel* being a Lover of Money, I ſhould promiſe him on his Part, 100000 Crowns, if the Conference that was propoſed ended in a Peace, and bid him tell the Arch-Duke, that if the *Spaniards* propoſed reaſonable Terms, he would Sign, and have them Regiſtred in Parliament before *Mazarin* ſhould know any thing of the Matter.

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Don Gabriel receiv'd the Overture with Joy, he had some particular Whimsies, but *Fuensaldagne*, who had a particular Kindness for him said, that he was the wisest Fool he ever saw in his Life. I have remarked more than once, *That this sort of Men can't persuade, but can insinuate perfectly well; and that the Talent of Insinuation is of more Service than that of Persuasion; because one may insinuate to a Hundred, where one can hardly persuade Five.*

The King of *England*, after having lost the Battle of *Worcester*, arriv'd at *Paris* the Day that *Don Gabriel* set out, *viz. Sept.* 13, 1650. My Lord *Taff* was his great Chamberlain, Valet de Chambre, Clerk of the Kitchin, Cup-bearer and all, an Equipage answerable to his Court, for his Majesty had not changed his Shirt all the Way from *England*; upon his Arrival at *Paris* indeed, he had one lent him by my Lord *Jermin*; but the Queen, his Mother, had not Money to buy him another for the next Day. The Duke of *Orleans* went to compliment his Majesty upon his Arrival; but it was not in my Power to perswade his Royal Highness to give his Nephew one Penny; because, said he, a little would not be worth his Acceptance, and a great deal would engage me to do as much hereafter. This leads me to make the following Digression: *That there is nothing so wretched as to be a Minister to a Prince, and at the same time not his Favourite. For 'tis his Favour only that gives one a Power over the minuter Concerns of the Family, for which the Publick does nevertheless think a Minister accountable when they see he has Power over Affairs of far greater Consequence.*

Therefore I was not in a Condition to oblige his Royal Highness to assist the King of *England* with a Thousand Pistoles, for which I was horridly ashamed, both upon his Account and my own; but I borrowed fifteen Hundred for him from Monsieur *Morangis*, and carried them to my Lord

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Lord * *Tuff*. 'Tis remarkable, that the same Night, as I was going home, I met one *Tilney*, an *Englishman*, whom I had formerly known at *Rome*, who told me, that *Vere*, a great Parliamentarian, and a Favourite of *Cromwel*, was arriv'd at *Paris*, and had orders to see me. I was a little puzzled; however, I judg'd it would be improper to refuse him an Interview. *Vere* gave me a little Letter from *Cromwel* in the Nature of Credentials, importing that the Sentiments I had discover'd in the Defence of Publick Liberty, added to my Reputation, had induced *Cromwel* to desire, to enter with me into the strictest Friendship. The Letter was in the main wonderful civil and complaisant. I answer'd it with a great deal of Respect, but in such a manner as became a true Catholick and an honest *Frenchman*. *Vere* appear'd to be a Man of surprising Abilities.

Now return to our own Affairs. I was told as a mighty Secret, that *Tillier* had Orders from the Cardinal, to remove the Princes from *Bois de Vincennes*, if the Enemy were likely to come near the Place, and that he should endeavour by all means to procure the Consent of the Duke of *Orleans* for that end; but that in Case of refusal, these Orders should be executed notwithstanding; and that he should endeavour to gain me into these Measures, by the Means of Madame *de Chevreuse*. When *Tillier* came to me, I assur'd him, that it was all one both to me and the Duke of *Orleans* whether the Princes were removed or not; but since my Opinion was desired, I must declare, that I think nothing can be

* *My Lord* Clarendon *extols the Civilities of Cardinal* de Retz *to King* Charles II. *and has inserted a curious Conversation which the Cardinal had with that Prince.*

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be more contrary to the true Interest of the King; for, said I, "The *Spaniards* must get a "Battle before they can come to *Vincennes*, and "when there, they must have a flying Camp to "invest the Place, before they can deliver the "Princes from Confinement, and therefore I am "convinced that there is no Necessity for their "Removal; and I do affirm, *That all unnecessary "Changes in Matters which are in themselves dis-"agreeable, are pernicious, because odious.* I'll main-"tain farther, That there is less Reason to fear "the Duke of *Orleans* and the *Frondeurs*, than "to apprehend the *Spaniards*. Put the Case "that his Royal Highness was more Disaffected "to the Court, than any Body; suppose far-"ther, that Monsieur *de Beaufort* and I had a "Mind to relieve the Princes, Which way could "we do it? Is not the whole Garrison in that "Castle in the King's Service? Has his Royal "Highness any regular Troops to besiege *Vin-"cennes?* And granting the *Frondeurs* to be the "greatest Fools imaginable, will they expose "the People of *Paris* at a Siege, which two "Thousand of the King's Troops might raise "in a quarter of an Hour, tho' it consisted of a "hundred Thousand Citizens? I therefore con-"clude, that the Removal would be altogether "Impolitic. Does it not look rather as if "the Cardinal feigns an Apprehension from the "*Spaniards*, only as a Pretence to make himself "Master of the Princes, and to dispose "of their Persons at Pleasure. The genera-"lity of the People being *Frondeurs*, will con-"clude you take the Prince of *Conde* out of "their Hands, whom they look upon to be safe "while they see him walking upon the Battle-"ments of his Prison; and that you'll give "him his Liberty when you please, and put "him upon besieging *Paris* a second time. On

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" the other Hand, the Princes Party will im-
" prove this Removal very much to their own
" Advantage, by the Compaſſion ſuch a Specta-
" cle will raiſe in the People, when they ſee
" three Princes dragg'd in Chains from one Pri-
" ſon to another. I was really miſtaken juſt now,
" when I ſaid the Caſe was all one to me,
" for I ſee that I am nearly concerned, becauſe
" the People, in which Word I include the Par-
" liament, will cry out againſt it; I muſt be
" then obliged, for my own ſafety, to ſay, I
" did not approve of the Reſolution. Then the
" Court will be inform'd that I find fault with
" it, and not only ſo, but that I do it in or-
" der to raiſe the Mob, and diſcredit the Car-
" dinal, which, tho' never ſo falſe, yet in the
" Conſequence, People will firmly believe it, and
" thus I ſhall meet with the ſame Treatment I
" met with in the beginning of the late Trou-
" bles, and what I even now experience in re-
" lation to the Affairs of *Guienne*; I am ſaid
" to be the Cauſe of theſe Troubles, becauſe I
" foretold them; and I was ſaid to encourage
" the Revolt at *Bourdeaux*, becauſe I was againſt
" the Conduct that occaſion'd it.

Tellier, in the Queen's Name, thank'd me for my Non-reſiſting Diſpoſition, and made the ſame Propoſal to his Royal Highneſs; upon which I ſpoke, not to ſecond *Tellier*, who pleaded for the Neceſſity of the Removal, to which I could by no means be reconciled; but to make it evident to his Royal Highneſs, that he was not any way concerned in it as to his own private Capacity; and that in caſe the Queen did command it poſitively, it was his Duty to obey. Monſieur *de Beaufort* oppoſed it ſo furiouſly, as to offer the Duke of *Orleans* to attack the Guards, which

which were to remove him. I had solid Reasons to dissuade him from it, to the last of which he submitted, it being an Argument which I had from the Queen's own Mouth, when she set out for *Guienne*; viz. that *Bar* offer'd to assassinate the Princes, if it should happen that he was not in a Condition to hinder their escape. I was astonish'd when her Majesty trusted me with this Secret, and imagin'd that the Cardinal had possessed her with a Jealousie that the *Frondeurs* had a Design to seize the Person of the Prince of *Conde*. For my Part, I never dream'd of such a Thing in my Life. The Dukes of *Orleans* and *Beaufort* were both shock'd at the Thought on't, and in short, 'twas agreed that his Royal Highness should give his Consent for the Removal, and that *Monsieur de Beaufort* and my self should not give it out among the People that we approved of it.

The Day that the Princes were remov'd to *Marcoussi*, President *Bellievre* told the Keeper of the Seals in plain Terms, that if he continued to treat me as he had done hitherto, he would be oblig'd in Honour to give his Testimony to the Truth. To whom the Keeper return'd this blunt Answer: *The Princes are no longer in the City of* Paris, *the* Coadjutor *must not therefore talk so loud.*

I return now to the Parliament, which was so moderate at this time, that the Cardinal was hardly mention'd, and they agreed *Nemine Contradicente*, that the Parliament should send Deputies to *Bourdeaux*, to know once for all, if that Parliament was for Peace or not.

Soon after this, the Parliament of *Toulouse* writ to that of *Paris*, concerning the Disturbances in *Guienne*, part whereof belonged to their Jurisdiction,

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diction, and expresly demanded an Arret of Union. But the Duke of *Orleans* warded against the Blow very dexterously, which was of great Consequence, and more by his Address, than by his Authority, brought the Parliament to dismiss the Deputies with civil Answers and insignificant Expressions; upon which, President *Bellievre* said to me, *What Pleasure should we not take in acting as we do, for Persons that had but the Sense to know it?*

The Parliament did not continue long in that Calm. They pass'd an Arret to interrogate the State Prisoners in the *Bastile*; broke out sometimes like a Whirld-wind, with Thunder and Lightning against Cardinal *Mazarin*; at other Times they complain'd of the Misapplication of the Publick Funds. We had much ado to ward off the Blows, and had not been able to hold out long against the Impetuousness of the Waves, but for the News of the Peace of *Bourdeaux*, which was register'd there the first of *October*, 1650, and put the Prince of *Conde*'s Party into a Consternation.

The mean Artifice which ran through Cardinal *Mazarin*'s Politicks was, always to entertain some Men of our own Party, with whom, half reconciled, he played fast and loose before our Eyes, and was negociating with them eternally, deceiving, and being deceived in his turn. The Consequence of all this was a great thick Cloud, wherein the *Frondeurs* themselves were at last involv'd; but they set the Exhalations on Fire, which produced Thunder.

The Cardinal being puffed up with his Success, in Accommodating the Troubles of *Guienne*, thought of nothing else than crowning his Triumph by chastising the *Frondeurs*, who, said he, had made use of the King's Absence, to alienate the Duke of *Orleans* from his Service, to encourage the Revolt

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volt at *Bourdeaux*, and to make themſelves Maſters of the Perſons of the Princes. At the ſame time he told the Princeſs *Palatine*, that he deteſted the cruel Hatred I bore to the Prince of *Conde*; and that the Propoſitions I made daily to him on that ſcore, were altogether unworthy of a Chriſtian. Yet he ſuggeſted to the Duke of *Orleans*, that I made great Overtures to him to be reconciled to the Court; but that he could not truſt me, becauſe I was from Morning to Night negociating with the Friends of the Prince of *Conde*. Thus the Cardinal rewarded me for what I did with incredible Application, and I muſt ſay, uncommon Sincerity for the Queen's Service, during the Courts Abſence. I don't mention the Dangers I was in twice or thrice a Day, ſurpaſſing even thoſe of Soldiers in Battles. For imagine, I beſeech you, what Pain and Anguiſh I muſt be in to hear my ſelf called a *Mazarin*, and to bear all the Odium annex'd to that hateful Appellation, in a City where he made it his Buſineſs to deſtroy me in the Opinion of a Prince, whoſe Nature it was to be always in Fear, and to truſt none but ſuch as hoped to Riſe by my Fall.

The Cardinal gave himſelf ſuch Airs after the Peace at *Bourdeaux*, that ſome ſaid, 'twas my beſt way to retire before the King's Return.

Cardinal *Mazarin* had been formerly Secretary to *Pancirole*, the Pope's Nuncio for the Peace of *Italy*, whom he betrayed, and 'twas proved that he had a ſecret Correſpondence with the Governour of *Milan*. *Pancirole* being created Cardinal and Secretary of State to the Church, did not forget the Perfidiouſneſs of his Secretary, now created Cardinal by Pope *Urban*, at the Requeſt of Cardinal *Richelieu*, and did not at all endeavour to qualifie the Anger which Pope *Innocent* had conceiv'd againſt *Mazarin* after the Aſſaſſination

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nation of one of his Nephews, in Conjunction with Cardinal * *Anthony*. *Pancirol*, who thought he could not Affront *Mazarin* more than by contributing to make me Cardinal, did me all the kind Offices with Pope *Innocent*, who gave him leave to treat with me about that Affair.

Madame *de Chevreuſe* told the Queen all that ſhe had obſerv'd of my Conduct in the King's Abſence, and what ſhe had ſeen was certainly one continued Series of conſiderable Services done to the Queen. She recounted at laſt all the Injuſtice done me, the Contempt put upon me, and the juſt Grounds of my Diffidence, which of Neceſſity, ſhe ſaid, ought to be removed, and that the only Means of removing it, was the Hat. The Queen, at this, was in a Paſſion. The Cardinal kept upon the Defence, not by an open Denial, for he had offer'd it me ſeveral Times; but by recommending Patience, intimating that a great Monarch ſhould be forc'd to nothing. Monſieur ſeconding Madame *de Chevreuſe* in her Attack, ſhock'd the Cardinal, who, at leaſt in Appearance, gave Ground, out of Reſpect for his Royal Highneſs. Madame *de Chevreuſe* having brought them to Parley, did not doubt but that ſhe ſhould bring them alſo to Capitulate, eſpecially when ſhe ſaw the Queen was appeaſed, and told his Royal Highneſs, *That ſhe was infinitely oblig'd to him, and would do what her Council judg'd moſt proper and reaſonable.* This *Council*, which was only a ſpecious Name, conſiſted only of the Cardinal, the Keeper of the Seals, *Tellier* and *Servien*.

* Anthony Barbarini, *Nephew to* Urban *the* 8th, *created Cardinal* 1628, *made Protector of the Crown of* France 1633, *and Great Almoner of the Kingdom*, 1653. *He was afterwards Biſhop of* Poitiers, *and laſtly, Archbiſhop of* Rheims, 1657, *died*. 1671.

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The Affair was propoſed to the Council by the Cardinal, concluding with a moſt ſubmiſſive Petition to the Queen, to condeſcend to the Demand of the Duke of *Orleans*, and to what the Services and Merits of the *Coadjutor* demanded, with greater Importunity. The Propoſition was rejected with ſo much Reſolution and Contempt, as is very unuſual in Council, in Oppoſition to a Prime Miniſter. *Tellier* and *Servien* thought it ſufficient not to applaud him, but the Keeper of the Seals quite forgot his Reſpect for the Cardinal, accuſed him of Prevarication and Weakneſs, and threw himſelf at her Majeſty's Feet, conjuring her, in the Name of the King her Son, not to authorize by an Example, which he called Fatal, the Inſolence of a Subject, who was for wreſting Favours from his Sovereign with Sword in Hand. The Queen was moved at this, and the poor Cardinal own'd he had been too eaſie and pliant.

I had my ſelf given a very natural Handle to my Adverſaries to expoſe me ſo egregiouſly. I have been guilty of many Blunders; but I think this is the groſſeſt that I ever was guilty of in all my Life. I have frequently made this Obſervation: *That when Men have, through fear of Miſcarriage, heſitated a long time about any Undertaking of Conſequence, the remaining Impreſſions of their Fear do commonly puſh them afterwards with too much Precipitancy upon the Execution of their Deſign.* And this was my Caſe. It was with the greateſt Reluctancy, that I was determin'd to accept of the Cardinal Dignity, becauſe I thought it too mean to form a Pretenſion to it without certainty of Succeſs; and no ſooner was I engaged in the Purſuit of it, but the Impreſſion of the former fearful Idea's hurry'd me on as it were, to the End I might get as ſoon as poſſible out of the diſagreeable State of Uncertainty.

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The Cardinal would have paid my Debts, given me the Place of Grand Almoner, *&c.* But if he had added twelve Cardinal Hats into the Bargain, I should have begg'd his excuse. I was now engag'd with Monsieur, who was, in short, resolved upon the Enlargement of the Princes from their Confinement.

Cardinal *Mazarin*, after his return to *Paris*, made it his chief Study to divide the *Frond*. He thought to weaken my Interst very much with Monsieur, by detaching from me Madame *de Chevreuse*, for whom he had a natural Tenderness, and to give me a mortal Blow, by embroiling me with Mademoiselle her Daughter. To do this effectually, he raised me a Rival, who, he hoped, would please her better; *viz.* Monsieur *d' Aumale*, beautiful as an Angel, and one who was very likely to suit the Temper of Mademoiselle *de Chevreuse*. He had intirely devoted himself to the Cardinal's Interest, looked upon himself very much honoured by this Commission, and haunted the Palace of *Chevreuse* so diligently, that I did not doubt but he was sent thither to act the second Part of the Comedy, which had miscarried so shamefully in the Hands of Monsieur *de Candale*. I watch'd all his Motions, and complain'd to Mademoiselle *de Chevreuse*; but she gave me indirect Answers: I began to be out of Humour; and was soon appeased. I grew peevish again. And Mademoiselle *de Chevreuse* telling in his Presence, to please me, and to sting him, that she could not imagine, how it was possible to bear a silly Fellow. *Pardon me, Mademoiselle*, replied I, *we suffer Fops sometimes very patiently for the sake of their Extravagancies.* This Lord was notoriously Foppish and Extravagant. My Answer pleased, and we soon got rid of him at the Palace of *Chevreuse*. But he thought to have dispatch'd me; for he hired

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one *Grandmaiſon*, a Ruffian, to aſſaſſinate me, who appris'd me of his Deſign. And the firſt Time I met M. *d' Aumale*, (which was at the Duke of *Orleans*'s Houſe) I did not fail to let him know it; but I told it him with a Whiſper, ſaying, *I had too much Reſpect for the Houſe of* Savoy, *to publiſh it to the World.* He deny'd the Fact; but in ſuch a manner, as made it more evident, becauſe he conjur'd me to keep it ſecret. I gave him my Word, and I kept it.

Madame *de Guimene*, with whom I had ſeveral Quarrels, propoſed to the Queen likewiſe to diſpatch me, by ſhutting me up in a Green-Houſe in her Garden, which ſhe might eaſily have done, becauſe I often went to her alone by Night; but the Cardinal fearing that the People would have ſuſpected him for the Author of my ſudden Diſappearance, would not come into the Project, ſo it was dropp'd.

To return to our Negociations for the Freedom of the Princes. The Duke of *Orleans* was with much Difficulty induced to ſign the Treaty, by which a Marriage was ſtipulated between Mademoiſelle *de Chevreuſe* and the Prince of *Conti*, and a Promiſe not to oppoſe my Promotion to the Dignity of a Cardinal. The Princes were as active in the whole Courſe of theſe Negociations, as if they had been at Liberty. We writ to them, and they to us; and a regular Correſpondence between *Paris* and *Lions* was never better eſtabliſhed than then. * *Bar*, their Warder, was a very ſhallow Fellow; beſides, Men of Senſe are ſometimes outwitted. Car-

* Bar *was, according to Monſieur* Joli, *an unſociable Man, who was for raiſing his Fortune by uſing the Princes ill, and who, on that Occaſion, was often the Dupe of* Montreiul, *Secretary to the Prince of* Conti. *See* Joli's *Memoirs*. Vol. I. p. 88.

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Cardinal *Mazarin*, upon his return with the King from *Guienne*, was hugely pleas'd with the Acclamations of the Mob; but he ſoon grew weary of them, for the *Frondeurs* ſtill kept the Wall.

The Cardinal being continually teiz'd at *Paris* by the Abbot *Fouquet*, who ſought to make himſelf neceſſary, and being ſo vain as to think himſelf qualify'd to command an Army, march'd abruptly out of *Paris* for *Champaign*, with a Deſign to retake *Rethel* and *Chateau-Portien*, of which the Enemies were poſſeſs'd, and where Monſieur *de Turenne* propoſed to Winter.

On the Feaſt of St. *Martin*, the firſt Preſident and the Attorney General *Talon* exhorted the Parliament to be peaceable, that the Enemies of the State might have no Advantage. A Petition was read from Madame the Princeſs, deſiring that the Princes might be brought to the *Louvre*, and remain in the Cuſtody of one of the King's Officers, and that the Sollicitor General might be ſent for, to know what he had to alledge againſt their Innocence; but that in caſe he ſhould have nothing ſolid to offer, they might be ſet at Liberty.

The Chambers being aſſembled on the *7th* of *December*, to take the Affair into Conſideration, *Talon*, the Attorney General, acquainted the Houſe, that the Queen had ſent for the King's Council, and order'd them to let the Parliament know, that it was her Pleaſure that the Houſe ſhould not take any Cognizance of the Princeſs's Petition; becauſe every thing that had relation to the Confinement of the Princes, belonged to the Royal Authority. *Talon* made a Motion, that the Parliament ſhould depute ſome Members to carry the Petition to the Queen, and to beſeech her Majeſty to take it into her Conſideration. At the ſame time another Petition was preſented from Mademoiſelle *de Longueville*, for

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the Liberty of the Duke her Father, and that ſhe might have leave to ſtay in *Paris* to ſollicit it.

No ſooner was this Petition read, but a Letter from the three Princes was preſented and read, praying that they might be brought to Tryal, or ſet at Liberty.

On the *9th* Day of the Month, an Order was brought to the Parliament from the King, commanding the Houſe to ſuperſede all Deliberations on this Subject, till they had firſt ſent their Deputies to Court to know his Majeſty's Pleaſure.

Deputies were ſent immediately, to whom accordingly the Queen gave them Audience in Bed, telling them that ſhe was very much indiſpoſed. The Keeper of the Seals added, that 'twas the King's Pleaſure that the Parliament ſhould not meet at all till ſuch time as the Queen, his Mother, had recover'd her Health.

On the 10th, the Houſe reſolved to adjourn only to the 14th, and on that Day a General Proceſſion was propoſed to the Archbiſhop by the Dean of Parliament, to beg that God would inſpire them with ſuch Counſels only, as might be for the Good of the Public.

On the 14th, they receiv'd the King's Letter, forbidding their Debates, and acquainting them, that the Queen would ſatisfie them very ſpeedily about the Affair of the Princes; but this Letter was diſregarded. They ſent a Deputation to invite the Duke of *Orleans* to come to the Houſe; but after conſulting with the Queen, he told the Deputies, that he did not care to go; that the Aſſembly was too noiſie; that he could not divine what they would be at; that the Affairs in Debate were never known to fall under their Cognizance; and that they had nothing elſe to do, but to refer the ſaid Petitions to the Queen.

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On the 18th, News came that Mareſchal *du Pleſſis* had got a ſignal Victory over Monſieur *de Turenne*, who was coming to ſuccour *Rethel*, but found it already ſurrender'd to Mareſchal *du Pleſſis*; and the *Spaniſh* Garriſon endeavouring to retreat, was forced to an Engagement in the Plains of *Saumepuis*; that about two Thouſand Men were killed upon the Spot, among the reſt, a Brother of the Elector *Palatin*, and ſix Colonels, and that there were near 4000 Priſoners, the moſt conſiderable of whom were ſeveral Perſons of Note, and all the Colonels, beſides twenty Colours, and 84 Standards. You may eaſily gueſs at the Conſternation of the Princes Party, my Houſe was all Night filled with the Lamentations of deſpairing Mourners; and I found the Duke of *Orleans* as it were ſtruck dumb.

On the 19th, as I went to the Parliament-Houſe, the People looked melancholy, dejected, and frighted out of their Wits. The Members were afraid to open their Mouths, and no Body would mention the Name of *Mazarin*, except *Menardeau Champre*, who ſpoke of him with Encomiums, by giving him the Honour of the Victory of *Rhetel*; and then he moved the Houſe to entreat the Queen to put the Princes into the Hands of that good and wiſe Miniſter, who would be as careful of them as he had been hitherto of the State. I wonder'd moſt of all that this Man was not hiſs'd in the Houſe, but eſpecially as he paſs'd through the great Hall. This Circumſtance, together with what I ſaw that Afternoon in every Street, convinced me how much our Friends were diſpirited, and therefore I reſolv'd next Day to raiſe their Courage. I knew the firſt Preſident to be all of a Piece, and ſuch Men greedily ſwallow every new Appearance which confirms them in their firſt Impreſſion. I knew likewiſe, the Cardinal to be a Man that ſuppo-

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ſed every Body had a back Door. *The only Way of dealing with Men of that Stamp is, to make them believe that you deſign to deceive thoſe whom you earneſtly endeavour to ſerve.* For this Reaſon, on the 20th, I declaim'd againſt the Diſorders of the State; and ſhew'd that it having pleas'd Almighty God to bleſs his Majeſty's Arms, and to remove the publick Enemy from our Frontiers, by the Victory lately gained over them by Mareſchal *du Pleſſis*; we ought now to apply our ſelves ſeriouſly to the Healing of the inteſtine Wounds of the State, which are the more Dangerous, becauſe they are leſs obvious. To this I thought fit to add, that I was obliged to mention the univerſal Oppreſſion of the Subjects, at a time when we had nothing more to fear from the lately routed *Spaniards*; that as one of the Props of the Publick Safety was the Preſervation of the Royal Family, I could not, without the utmoſt Concern, ſee the Princes Breath the unwholſome Air of *Havre de Grace*; and that I was of Opinion, the Houſe ſhould humbly intreat the King to remove them, at leaſt to ſome Place more healthy. At this Speech every Body reſumed their Courage, and concluded that all was not yet loſt. 'Twas obſerv'd, that the Peoples Countenances were alter'd. The People in the great Hall reſumed their former Zeal, made the uſual Acclamations as we went out, and I had that Day three Hundred Coaches of Viſiters.

On the 22d, the Debate was continued, and 'twas more and more obſerv'd that the Parliament did not follow the Triumphant Chariot of Cardinal *Mazarin*, whoſe Imprudence in hazarding the Fate of the whole Kingdom in the laſt Battle, was ſet off with all the diſadvantageous Colours that could be invented, to tarniſh the Victory.

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The 30th crown'd the Work, and produced an Arret for making moſt humble Remonſtrances to the Queen for the Liberty of the Princes, and Mademoiſelle *de Longueville*'s ſtaying in *Paris*.

It was farther reſolved to ſend a Deputation to the Duke of *Orleans*, to deſire his Royal Highneſs to uſe his Intereſt on this Occaſion in Favour of the ſaid Princes.

The King's Council having waited on her Majeſty with the Remonſtrances aforeſaid, She pretended to be under a Courſe of Phyſick, and put off the Matter a Week longer. The Duke of *Orleans* alſo gave an ambiguous Anſwer. The Queen's Courſe of Phyſick continued 8 or 10 Days longer than ſhe imagined, or rather, than ſhe ſaid, and conſequently the Remonſtrances of the Parliament were not made till the 20*th* of *January* 1651.

The 28th, the firſt Preſident made his Report, and ſaid, the Queen had promiſed to return an Anſwer in a few Days.

It happen'd very luckily for us at this time, that the Imprudence of the Cardinal was greater than the Inconſtancy of the Duke of *Orleans*; for a little before the Queen returned Anſwer to the Remonſtrances, he talked very roughly to the Duke in the Queen's Preſence, charging him with putting too much Confidence in me. The very Day that the Queen made the foreſaid Anſwer, he ſpoke yet more arrogantly to the Duke in her Majeſty's Apartment, comparing Monſieur *de Beaufort* and me to *Cromwell* and *Fairfax* in the Houſe of Commons in *England*, and exclaim'd furiouſly in the King's Preſence; ſo that he frighted the Duke, who was glad he got out of the King's Palace in a whole Skin, and ſaid, that he would never put himſelf again in the Power of that furious Woman, meaning

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meaning the Queen, becauſe ſhe had improved what the Cardinal had ſaid to the King. I reſolved to ſtrike the Iron while it was hot, and joined with Monſieur *Beaufort*, to perſwade his Royal Highneſs to declare himſelf the next Day in Parliament. We ſhewed him, that after what had lately paſſed, there was no ſafety for his Perſon; and if the King ſhould go out of *Paris*, as the Cardinal deſign'd, we ſhould be engaged in a Civil War, whereof he alone, with the City of *Paris*, muſt bear the heavy Load. That it would be equally ſcandalous and dangerous for his Royal Highneſs, either to leave the Princes in Chains, after having treated with them, or by his dilatory Proceedings, ſuffer *Mazarin* to have all the Honour of ſetting them at Liberty; and that he ought by all Means to go to the Parliament-Houſe.

The Dutcheſs too ſeconded us, and upon his ſaying, that if he went to the Houſe to declare againſt the Court, the Cardinal would be ſure to take his Majeſty out of *Paris*; The Dutcheſs reply'd: *What, Sir, are you not Lieutenant General of* France? *Don't you command the Army? Are you not Maſter of the People? I'll undertake my ſelf that the King ſhall not go out of* Paris. The Duke nevertheleſs remain'd inflexible; and all we could get out of him was, that he would conſent I ſhould tell the Parliament, in his Name, what we deſired he ſhould ſay himſelf. In a Word, he would have me make the Experiment, the Succeſs of which he looked upon to be very uncertain, becauſe he thought the Parliament would have nothing to ſay againſt the Queen's Anſwer; and that if I ſucceeded, he ſhould reap the Honour of the Propoſition. I readily accepted of the Commiſſion, becauſe all was at ſtake, and if I had not executed it the next Morning, I am

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ſure the Cardinal had eluded ſetting the Princes at Liberty a great while longer, and the Affair had ended in a Negociation with them againſt the Duke. The Dutcheſs, who ſaw that I expos'd my ſelf for the Publick Good, pitied me very much. She did all ſhe could to perſwade the Duke to command me to mention to the Parliament what the Cardinal had told the King with relation to *Cromwell*, *Fairfax*, and the *Engliſh* Parliament, which, if declar'd in the Duke's Name, ſhe thought would engage the Houſe the more againſt *Mazarin*; and ſhe was certainly in the right. But he forbid me expreſly.

I ran about all Night to diſpoſe the Members at their firſt Meeting to murmur againſt the Queen's Anſwer, which in the main was very plauſible, importing, that tho' this Affair did not fall within the Cognizance of Parliament, the Queen would however, out of her abundant Goodneſs, have regard to their Supplications, and reſtore the Princes to their Liberty. Beſides, it promiſed a general Amneſty to all that had born Arms in their Favour; on Condition only that Monſieur *de Turenne* ſhould lay down his Arms; that Madame *de Longueville* ſhould renounce her Treaty with *Spain*; and that *Stenai* and *Marzin* ſhould be evacuated.

At firſt the Parliament ſeem'd to be dazzled with it; but next Day, the firſt of *February*, the whole Houſe was undeceiv'd, and wonder'd how they had been ſo deluded. The Court of Inqueſts began to murmur, *Viole* ſtood up and ſaid, That the Queen's Anſwer was but a Snare laid for the Parliament, to amuſe them; and that the 12*th* of *March*, the Time fixt for the King's Coronation, was juſt at hand; and that as ſoon as the Court was out of *Paris*, they would laugh at the Parliament. At this Diſcourſe, the old and new *Frond* ſtood up, and when I ſaw they were

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in a great Heat, I wav'd my Cap, and ſaid, "That the Duke had commanded me to acquaint the Houſe, that the Regard he had for their Sentiments, having confirm'd him in thoſe he always naturally entertain'd of his Couſins, he was reſolv'd to concur with them for procuring their Liberty, and to contribute every thing in his Power to effect it; and 'tis incredible what Influence theſe few Words had upon the whole Aſſembly. I was aſtoniſh'd at it my ſelf. The wiſeſt Senators ſeemed as mad as the common People, and the People madder than ever. Their Acclamations exceeded whatever you can imagine, and indeed nothing leſs was ſufficient to hearten the Duke, who had all Night been bringing forth new Projects with more ſorrowful Pangs and Throws (as the Dutcheſs expreſs'd it) than ever ſhe felt in Labour with all her Children.

When he was fully informed of the good Succeſs of his Declaration, he embrac'd me ſeveral times before all the Company, and Monſieur *Tellier* going to wait on him from the Queen, to know if he own'd what I had ſpoke in his Name in the Houſe: *Yes*, reply'd he, *I own, and always will own all that he ſhall ſay or act in my Name.* We thought, that after a ſolemn Declaration of this Nature, the Duke would not Scruple to take all the neceſſary Precautions to prevent the Cardinal's carrying away the King; and to that end, the Dutcheſs did propoſe to have all the Gates of the City well guarded, under pretence of ſome popular Tumults. But he was deaf to all ſhe ſaid, pretending that he was loth to make his King a Priſoner.

But being urged very importunately by the Princes Party, on the 2*d* of *February*, 1651, telling him that their Liberty depended on it; he told them, that he was going to do an Action which

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which would remove all their Diffidence. He ſent immediately for the Keeper of the Seals, Mareſchal *Villeroy*, and *Tellier*; bid them tell the Queen, that he would never come to the Royal Palace, as long as *Mazarin* was there, and that he could no longer treat with a Man that ruin'd the State. And then turning towards Mareſchal *Villeroy*: *I charge you, ſaid he, with the King's Perſon; you ſhall be anſwerable for him to me.* I was ſadly afraid this would be a means to haſten the King's Departure, which was what we dreaded moſt of all; and I wonder'd that the Cardinal did not remove after ſuch a Declaration. I thought his Head was turn'd, and indeed I was told that he was beſide himſelf for a Fortnight together.

The Duke having openly declar'd againſt *Mazarin*, and being reſolv'd to attack and drive him out of the Kingdom, bid me acquaint the Houſe next Day, in his Name, how the Cardinal had compared their Body to the Rump-Parliament in *England*, and ſome of their Members to *Cromwell* and *Fairfax*. I improved this as much as poſſible, and I dare ſay, that ſo much Heat and Ferment was never ſeen in any Society before. Some were for ſending the Cardinal a Perſonal Summons to appear on the Spot, to give an Account of his Adminiſtration; but the moſt moderate were for making moſt humble Remonſtrances to the Queen for his Removal. You may eaſily gueſs what a Thunder-Clap this muſt be to the Court. The Queen deſir'd the Duke that ſhe might bring the Cardinal to his Royal Highneſs. His Anſwer was, That he did not think it for the Safety of his own Perſon. She offer'd to come alone to confer with his Highneſs, at the Palace of *Orleans*; but he excus'd himſelf with a great deal of Reſpect.

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He sent Orders, an Hour after, to the Mareschals of *France*, to obey him only, as Lieutenant General of the State; and likewise to the Provost of the Merchants, not to take up Arms, but only by his Authority. You'll wonder, without doubt, that after all this Noise, no care was taken of the Gates of *Paris*, to prevent the King's Departure. The Dutchess, who trembled at the Thoughts of it, daily redoubled her Endeavours to induce the Duke to secure the Gates of the City, but all to no purpose, for *Weak Minds are generally deficient in some respect or others* (1).

On the 4th, the Duke came to the Parliament, and assur'd the Assembly of his Concurrence in every thing to reform the State, and to procure the Liberty of the Princes, and the Cardinal's Removal. As soon as his Royal Highness had done speaking, the Master of the Ceremonies was admitted with a Letter from the King, which was read, and required the House to separate, and to send as many Deputies as they could to the Palace Royal, to hear the King's Will and Pleasure. Deputies were accordingly sent immediately, for whose Return, the Bulk of the Members staid in the Great Chamber. I was informed that this was one Trick, among others, concerted to ruin me; and telling the Duke of *Orleans* of it, he said, that if the old Buffoon, the Keeper, was concern'd in such a Complication of Folly and Knavery, he deserv'd to be hang'd on one side of *Mazarin*. But the sequel shewed that I was not out in my Information.

As soon as the Deputies were come to the Royal Palace, the first President told the Queen, that the Parliament was extremely concerned that the Princes were still confined, notwithstanding her Royal Promise for setting them at Liberty. The Queen reply'd, that Mareschal *Grammont* was sent

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ſent to releaſe them, and to take the neceſſary Security of them, for the Publick Tranquility; but that ſhe had ſent for them, in relation to another Affair, which the Keeper of the Seals would explain to them, and which he couch'd in a bloody Manifeſto, in Subſtance as follows:

"All the Reports made by the *Coadjutor* in "Parliament were falſe, and invented by him; "*He lies*, (this is the only Word the Queen added to what was already written,) "he is a "very wicked, dangerous Man, and gives the "Duke very pernicious Advice; he wants to "ruin the State, becauſe we have refuſed to "make him Cardinal, and has publickly boaſted "that he will ſet Fire to the four Corners "of the Kingdom; and that he will have a "hundred Thouſand Men in a readineſs, to duſh "out the Brains of thoſe that ſhall attempt to "put it out. The Expreſſion was very harſh, and I am ſure that I never ſaid any thing like it; but it was of uſe at this time, to make the Cloud which was thickening over the Head of *Mazarin*, fall in a Storm upon mine. The Court ſaw the Parliament was aſſembled to paſs an Arret for ſetting the Princes at Liberty, and that the Duke in Perſon was declaring againſt *Mazarin* in the grand Chamber, and therefore they believ'd, that a Diverſion would be as practicable, as it was neceſſary; *viz.* to bring me upon my Tryal, in ſuch a manner, as the Parliament could not refuſe, nor ſecure me from the Railleries of the moſt inconſiderable Member. Every thing that tended to render the Attack plauſible was made uſe of, as well as every thing that might weaken my Defence. The Writing was ſigned by the four Secretaries of State; and the better to defeat all that I could ſay in my Juſtification, the Count *de Brienne* was ſent at the Heels of the Deputies, with an Order

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der to desire the Duke of *Orleans* to come to a Conference with the Queen, in relation to some few Difficulties that remain'd concerning the Liberty of the Princes.

When the Deputies were return'd to Parliament, the first President began with reading the Paper which had been deliver'd to him against me; upon which, you might read Astonishment in every Face. *Menardeau*, who was to open the Trenches against me, was afraid of a Salvo from the great Hall, where he found such a Crowd of People, and heard so many Acclamations to the *Frond*, and so many Imprecations against *Mazarin*, that he durst not open his Mouth against me, but contented himself with a pathetic Lamentation of the Division that was in the State, and especially in the Royal Family. The Counsellors were so divided, that some of them were for appointing publick Prayers for two Days, others propos'd to desire his Royal Highness to take Care of the publick Safety. I resolved to treat the Writing drawn up against me by the Cardinal as a Satyr and a Libel; and by some ingenious short Passage, to rouse up the Minds of the Hearers. As my Memory did not furnish me with any thing in ancient Authors that had any relation to my Subject, I made a small Discourse in the best *Latin* I was capable of, and then spoke thus.

" Were it not for the profound Respect I bear " to the Persons who have spoke before me, I " could not forbear complaining of their not cry- " ing out against a scurrilous Satyrical Paper, " which was just now read, contrary to all Forms " of Proceeding, and writ in the same Style as " lately prophaned the sacred Name of the King, " to encourage false Witnesses by Letters Pa- " rents. I believe, they thought this Paper, " which

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" which is but a Sally of the furious *Mazarin*,
" to be much beneath themſelves and me. And
" that I may conform my Opinion to theirs, I'll
" anſwer only by repeating a Paſſage of an an-
" cient Author. *In the worſt of Times I did not*
" *forſake the City*; *in the moſt Proſperous, I had no*
" *particular Views*; *and in the moſt deſperate Times*
" *of all I fear'd nothing.* I deſire to be excus'd
" for running into this Digreſſion. I move that
" you would make humble Remonſtrances to the
" King, to deſire him to diſpatch an Order im-
" mediately for ſetting the Princes at Liberty,
" to make a Declaration in their Favour, and
" to remove Cardinal *Mazarin* from his Perſon
" and Councils.

My Opinion was applauded both by the *Fron-deurs* and the Princes Party, and carry'd almoſt *Nemine Contradicente.*

Talon, the Attorney General, did Wonders, I never heard or read any thing more Eloquent or Nervous. He invok'd the Manes of *Henry* the Great, and, upon his Knees, recommended the Kingdom of *France* in general to the Protection of St. *Lewis.*

Brienne, who had been ſent by the Queen, to deſire an Interview with the Duke of *Orleans*, was diſmiſs'd with no other Anſwer, than that the Duke would come to pay his humble Duty to the Queen, as ſoon as the Princes were at liberty, and Cardinal *Mazarin* remov'd from the King's Perſon and Councils.

On the 5*th* of *February*, there was an Aſſembly of the Nobility at *Nemours*, for recovering their Privileges; I oppos'd it to the utmoſt of my Power; for I had experienc'd more than once, that nothing can be more pernicious to a Party, than to engage without any Neceſſity in ſuch Affairs as have the bare Appearance of Faction; but I was oblig'd to comply. This Aſſembly

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however was so terrifying to the Court, that six Companies of the Guards were order'd to mount, with which the Duke of *Orleans* was so offended, that he sent in Quality of Lieutenant General of the State to the Officers, to receive no Orders but from himself. They answer'd very respectfully, but as Men devoted to the Queen's Interest.

On the 6th, the Duke having taken his Place in the Parliament, the King's Council acquainted the House, that having been sent to wait on her Majesty with the Remonstrances, her Majesty's Answer was, That no Person living wish'd more for the Liberty of the Princes than herself; but that it was reasonable at the same time to consult the Safety of the State. And that as for Cardinal *Mazarin*, she was resolv'd to entertain him in her Council, as long as she found his Assistance necessary for the King's Service; and that it did not belong to the Parliament to concern themselves with any of her Ministers.

The first President was shrewdly attacked in the House for not being more resolute in speaking to the Queen. Some were for sending him back, to demand another Audience in the Afternoon; and the Duke of *Orleans* having said that the Mareschals of *France* were dependent on *Mazarin*, it was resolv'd immediately that they shou'd obey none but his Royal Highness.

I was inform'd that very Evening, that the Cardinal had made his escape out of *Paris* in Disguise, and that the Court was in a very great Consternation.

The Cardinal's Escape was the common Topick of Conversation, whereof different Reasons were assign'd, according to the various Interests of different Parties. As for my Part, I am very well perswaded, that Fear was the only Rea-

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ſon of his Flight, and that nothing elſe hinder'd him from taking the King and the Queen along with him. You'll ſee, in the ſequel of this Hiſtory, that he endeavour'd to get their Majeſties out of *Paris* ſoon after he had made his eſcape, and that it was concerted in all probability before he left the Court; but I could never know the Reaſon why he did not put it in Execution, at a time when he had no reaſon to fear the leaſt Oppoſition.

On the 17th, the Parliament order'd the Thanks of the Houſe to be returned to the Queen for removing the Cardinal, and that ſhe ſhould be addreſs'd to iſſue out an Order for ſetting the Princes at Liberty, and a Declaration for excluding all Foreigners for ever from the King's Council. The firſt Preſident being deputed with the Meſſage; the Queen told him, that ſhe could return him no Anſwer till ſhe had conferr'd with the Duke of *Orleans*, to whom ſhe immediately deputed the Keeper of the Seals, Mareſchal *de Villeroy*, and *Tellier*; but he told them, that he could not go to the Palace Royal, till the Princes were ſet at Liberty, and the Cardinal removed farther off from Court. For he obſerv'd to the Houſe, that the Cardinal was no farther off than at St. *Germain*, where he governed all the Kingdom as before; that his Nephew and his Nieces were yet at Court; and the Duke propos'd that the Parliament ſhould humbly Addreſs the Queen, to explain herſelf, whether the Cardinal's Removal was for good and all. If I had not ſeen it, I could not have imagin'd what a Heat the Houſe was in that Day. Some were for an Order, that there ſhould be no Favourites in *France* for the future. They came at length into the Opinion of his Royal Highneſs, *viz.* to Addreſs the Queen to

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explain herſelf with relation to the Removal of Cardinal *Mazarin*, and to ſollicit Orders for the Liberty of the Princes.

On the ſame Day, the Queen ſent again to deſire the Duke of *Orleans* to come and take his Place in Council, and to tell him, that in Caſe he did not think it convenient, ſhe would ſend the Keeper of the Seals to concert neceſſary Meaſures with him for ſetting the Princes at Liberty. His Royal Highneſs accepted of the ſecond, but rejected the firſt Propoſal, and treated M. *d' Elbeuf* roughly; becauſe he was very preſſing with his Royal Highneſs to go to the King's Palace. The Meſſengers did likewiſe acquaint the Duke, that they were order'd to aſſure him, that the Removal of the Cardinal was for ever. You'll ſee preſently, that in all probability, had his Royal Highneſs gone that Day to Court, the Queen had left *Paris*, and carried the Duke along with her.

On the 19*th*, the Parliament Decreed, that in Purſuance of the Queen's Declaration, the Cardinal ſhould, within the Space of Fifteen Days, depart his Majeſty's Dominions, with all his Relations and Foreign Servants, otherwiſe, they ſhould be proceeded againſt as Outlaws, and it ſhould be lawful for any Body to diſpatch them out of the Way.

I had a violent Suſpicion that the King would leave *Paris* that very Day, and I was almoſt aſleep when I was ſent for to the Duke of *Orleans*, whom Mademoiſelle *de Chevreuſe* was come to awake in the mean time; and while I was Dreſſing, one of her Pages brought me a Note from her, containing only theſe few Words, *Make haſt to* Luxemburg, *and be upon your Guard in the Way.* I found Mademoiſelle *de Chevreuſe* in his Chamber, who acquainted me, that the King

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King was got out of Bed, and had his Boots on ready for a Journey from *Paris*.

I waited on the Duke, and ſaid, There is but one Remedy, which is, to ſecure the Gates of *Paris*. Yet all that we could obtain of him was, to ſend the Captain of the *Swiſs* Guards to wait on the Queen, and deſire her Majeſty to weigh the Conſequences of an Action of that Nature. His Dutcheſs perceiving that this Expedient, if not ſupported effectually, would ruine all, and that his Royal Highneſs was ſtill as irreſolute as ever, ſhe called for Pen and Ink that lay upon the Table in her Cabinet, and wrote theſe Words in a great Sheet of Paper:

Monſieur the Coadjutor *is order'd to take Arms, to hinder the Adherents of Cardinal* Mazarin, *condemn'd by the Parliament, from carrying the King out of* Paris.

Margaret de Lorraine.

Des Touches, who found the Queen bathed in Tears, was charged by her Majeſty to aſſure the Duke of *Orleans*, that ſhe never thought of carrying away the King, and that 'twas one of my Fetches.

The Duke of *Orleans* ſaying at the Houſe next Day, that Orders for the Princes Liberty would be diſpatch'd in two Hours time; the firſt Preſident ſaid, with a deep Sigh, *The Prince of* Conde *is at Liberty, but our King, our Sovereign Lord and King, is a Priſoner*. The Duke of *Orleans* being now not near ſo timorous as before, becauſe he had receiv'd more Acclamations in the Streets than ever, reply'd, *That truly the King had been* Mazarin's *Priſoner, but God be praiſed, he was now in better Hands.*

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The Cardinal, who hover'd about *Paris* till he heard the City had taken up Arms, poſted to *Havre de Grace*, where he fawn'd upon the Prince of *Conde* with a Meanneſs of Spirit that is hardly to be imagin'd; for he wept, and even fell down on his Knees to the Prince, who treated him with the utmoſt Contempt, giving him no Thanks for his Releaſe.

On the 16*th* of *February*, the Princes being ſet at Liberty, arriv'd at *Paris*, and after waiting on the Queen, ſup[illegible] with *Beaufort* and me at the Duke of *Orleans*'s [illegible]nſe, where we drank the *King's Health*, and *No* [illegible]*arin*.

On the 17th, his Royal Highneſs carried them to the Parliament Houſe, and 'tis remarkable, that the ſame People, who but 13 Months before made Bonfires for their Confinement, did the ſame now, for their Enlargement.

On the 20th, the Declaration demanded of the King againſt the Cardinal, being brought to be Regiſter'd in Parliament, was ſent back with fury, becauſe the Reaſon of his Removal was colour'd over with ſo many Encomiums, that it was a perfect Panegyric. And honeſt *Brouſſel*, who always went greater Lengths than any Body, was for excluding all Cardinals out of the Miniſtry, as well as Foreigners in general, *becauſe they ſwear Allegiance to the Pope*. The firſt Preſident thinking to mortifie me, cry'd up *Brouſſel* for a Man of admirable good Senſe, and eſpouſed his Opinion, and the Prince of *Conde* too, ſeem'd to be over-joy'd, ſaying, *It was a charming Ecche*. Indeed, I might well be troubled to think that the very Day after a Treaty, wherein the Duke of *Orleans* declared that he was reſolv'd to make me a Cardinal, the Prince ſhould ſecond a Propoſition ſo diminutive of that Dignity. But the Truth is, the Prince had no Hand in it, for it came naturally, and was ſupported for no other Reaſon, but becauſe nothing

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thing that was brought as an Argument againſt *Mazarin*, could then fail of being approved at the ſame Time. I had ſome Reaſon to think, the Motion was concerted beforehand by my Enemies, to keep me out of the Miniſtry. Nevertheleſs I was not offended with the Parliament, the Bulk of whom I knew to be my Friends, whoſe ſole Aim was, effectually to demoliſh *Mazarin*, and I acquieſſed in the ſolid Satisfaction which I had in being conſider'd in the World, as the Expeller of *Mazarin*, whom every Body hated, and the Deliverer of the Princes, who were as much their Darlings.

The continual Chicanery of the Court, provoked the Parliament of *Paris* to write to all the Parliaments of *France*, to iſſue out Arrets againſt Cardinal *Mazarin*, which they did accordingly: They oblig'd the Court to iſſue out a Declaration, ſeting forth the Innocence of the Princes, and another for the Excluſion of Cardinals, as well *French* as Foreigners, from the King's Council; and the Parliament had no reſt till the Cardinal retired from *Sedan* to *Breule*, a Houſe belonging to the Elector of *Cologn*.

I had Advice ſent me from the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, to be upon my Guard, and that ſhe was ready to die with fear, leſt the Duke ſhould be forc'd, by the daily Menaces of the Court, to abandon me. I thereupon waited on the Duke, and told him, that having had the Honour and Satisfaction of ſerving his Royal Highneſs in two Affairs, which he had moſt at Heart, *viz.* the Expelling *Mazarin*, and Releaſing the Princes, his Couſins, I found my ſelf now oblig'd to re-aſſume the Functions of my Profeſſion; that the preſent Opportunity ſeem'd both to favour and invite my Retreat, and if I neglected it, I ſhould be the moſt imprudent Man living; becauſe my Preſence for the future, would not only be uſeleſs, but even prejudicial to his

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Royal Highneſs, whom I knew to be daily importuned and teiz'd by the Court Party meerly upon my Account, and therefore I conjur'd him to make himſelf eaſie, and give me leave to retire to my Cloiſter. The Duke ſpared no kind Words to retain me in his Service, promiſed never to forſake me, confeſs'd that he had been urg'd to it by the Queen; and that tho' his Reunion with her Majeſty and the Princes, oblig'd him to put on the Face of Friendſhip, yet he could never forget the bloody Affronts and Injuries which he had receiv'd from the Court. But all this could not diſſwade me; and the Duke at laſt gave his Approbation, with repeated Aſſurances, to allow me a Place next his Heart, and to correſpond with me in Secret.

Having taken my leave of the Princes, I retired accordingly to my Cloiſter of *Notre Dame*, where I did not truſt Providence ſo far as to omit the Uſe of human Means for defending my ſelf againſt the Inſults of my Enemies.

Except the Viſits which I paid in the Night-time at the *Hotel de Chevreuſe*, I convers'd with none but Canons and Curates, I was the Object of Raillery both at Court, and at the Palace of *Conde*. And becauſe I had ſet up a Bird-Cage at a Window, it became a common Jeſt, that the *Coadjutor whiſtled to the Linnets*. The Diſpoſition of *Paris* however, made me amends for the Raillery of the Court, I found my ſelf mighty well, while other People were very uneaſie. The Curates, Pariſh Prieſts, and even the Mendicants, inform'd themſelves with Diligence of the Negociations of the Prince of *Conde*. I gave Monſieur *Beaufort* a Thruſt now and then, which he knew not how to parry with all his Cunning: And the Duke of *Orleans*, who, in his Heart was enrag'd againſt the Court, continued his Correſpondence with me very faithfully.

Soon

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Soon after, the Mareſchal *du Pleſſis* came to me at Midnight, and Embrac'd me, ſaying, *I greet you as our Prime Miniſter.* And when he ſaw I ſmiled, he added, *I don't jeſt, you may be ſo, if you pleaſe. The Queen has order'd me to tell you, that ſhe puts the King and the Crown into your Hands.* He ſhew'd me a Letter, writ with the Cardinal's own Hand to the Queen, which concluded thus: "You know, Madame, that the greateſt Enemy "I have in the World, is the *Coadjutor*; make "uſe of him, rather than treat with the Prince "upon thoſe Conditions he demands. Make "him a Cardinal, give him my Place, and lodge "him in my Apartment. Perhaps he will be "ſtill more attach'd to the Duke of *Orleans*, "than to your Majeſty; but the Duke is not "for the Ruine of the State. His Intentions in "the main are not bad; in a Word, Madame, "do any thing rather than grant the Prince his "Demand, to have the Government of *Provence* "added to that of *Guienne*. I told the Mareſchal, that I could not but be highly obliged to his Eminence, and that I was under infinite Obligations to the Queen; and to ſhew my Gratitude, I humbly begg'd her Majeſty to permit me to ſerve her without any private Intereſt of my own; that I was very uncapable for the Place of Prime Miniſter upon many Accounts; beſide, that it was not conſiſtent with her Majeſty's Dignity, to raiſe a Man to that high Poſt, who was ſtill reaking as it were with the Fumes of Faction.

"But, ſaid the Mareſchal, the Place muſt be "filled by ſome Body. And as long as it is vacant, "the Prince will be always urging that Cardinal "*Mazarin* is to have it again. "You have, ſaid "I, Perſons much fitter for it than me. Then he ſhew'd me a Writing ſigned by the Queen, promiſing me all manner of Security if I would come to

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to Court. I went thither at Midnight, according to Agreement; and the Mareſchal, who introduced me to the Queen by the back Stairs, being withdrawn, her Majeſty uſed all the Arguments ſhe could to perſwade me to accept the Place of chief Miniſter, which I was determin'd to refuſe, becauſe I found that ſhe had the Cardinal at Heart more than ever; for as ſoon as ſhe ſaw I would not accept of the Poſt of Premier Miniſter, ſhe offer'd me the Cardinal's Cap, but with this Proviſo, that I would uſe my utmoſt Endeavours, towards the Reſtoration of Cardinal *Mazarin*. Then I judg'd it high time for me to ſpeak my Mind, which I did as follows:

"'Tis a great Affliction to me, Madame, that "Publick Affairs are reduced to ſuch a paſs, "as not only warrants, but even commands a "Subject to ſpeak to his Sovereign, in the Style "with which I am now to Addreſs your Ma"jeſty. It is beſt known to you, that one of "my worſt Crimes in the Cardinal's Account is, "that I foretold all theſe Things, and I have "paſs'd for the Author of what I was only the "Prophet. Your Majeſty would fain extricate "your ſelf with Honour, and you are in the "right; but permit me to tell you, as my Opi"nion, that it can never be effected, ſo long as "your Majeſty entertains any Thoughts of Re"eſtabliſhing *Mazarin*. I ſhould fail in the Re"ſpect I owe to your Majeſty, if I pretended "to thwart your Majeſty's Opinion, with regard "to the Cardinal, any other Way, than with "my moſt humble Remonſtrances; but I hum"bly conceive, I do but diſcharge my bounden "Duty, while I reſpectfully repreſent to your "Majeſty, wherein I may be ſerviceable or "uſeleſs to you at this critical Juncture. "Your Majeſty has the Prince to cope with,

"who

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" who indeed is for the Reſtoration of the Car-
" dinal, but upon Condition, that you give him
" ſuch a Power beforehand, as will enable him
" to ruine him at pleaſure. To reſiſt the Prince,
" you want the Duke of *Orleans*, who is abſo-
" lutely againſt the Cardinal's Re-eſtabliſhment,
" and who, provided he be excluded, will do
" what your Majeſty pleaſes to command him.
" You'll neither ſatisfie the Prince, nor the Duke.
" I am extreamly deſirous to ſerve your Maje-
" ſty againſt the one, and with the other; but
" I can do neither the one nor the other, with-
" out making uſe of proper Means for obtaining
" thoſe two different Ends. *Come over to me,* ſaid ſhe, *and I ſhall not care a Ruſh for all the Duke can do.*

I anſwered: " Should I do ſo, and ſhould it
" appear never ſo little that I was on Terms
" of Reconciliation with the Cardinal, I could
" neither ſerve your Majeſty with the Duke, nor
" the People, for both would hate me mortal-
" ly, and I ſhould be as uſeleſs to your Majeſty as the
" Biſhop of *Dole*. At this the Queen was very angry,
" and ſaid, *Heavens bleſs my Son, the King, for he is deſerted by all the World.* She ſaid, *I do all I can for you, I offer you a Place in my Council, I offer you the Cardinalſhip, pray what will you do for me?* I ſaid: " That I did not come hither to receive
" Favours; but to try to merit them. At this
the Queen's Countenance began to brighten, and ſhe ſaid very ſoftly, *What is it then that you'll do?*
" Madame, ſaid I, I'll oblige the Prince, before
" a Week's at an end, to leave *Paris*; and I'll
" take off the Duke from his Intereſt to Mor-
" row. The Queen, overjoy'd, held out her Hand, and ſaid, *Give me yours, and I promiſe you, that you ſhall be Cardinal the next Day, and the ſecond Man in my Friendſhip.* She deſir'd alſo, that *Mazarin* and I might be good Friends; but I anſwer'd,

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anſwer'd, that the leaſt touch upon that String would put me out of Tune, and render me uncapable of doing her any Service; therefore I conjur'd her, to let me ſtill enjoy the Character of being his Enemy. *Was any thing*, ſaid the Queen, *ever ſo ſtrange and unaccountable! Cannot you poſſibly ſerve me, without being the Enemy of him, in whom I moſt confide.* I told her, it muſt needs be ſo. Madame, ſaid I, "I humbly beſeech your Majeſty "to let me tell you, that as long as the Place "of firſt Miniſter is not filled up, the Prince "will increaſe in Power, on Pretence, that 'tis "kept vacant to receive the Cardinal by a ſpee-"dy Reſtoration.

You ſee, ſaid her Majeſty, how the Prince treats me; he has inſulted me ever ſince I diſown'd my two Traytors, *viz. Servien* and *Lionne*. I took the Opportunity while ſhe was fluſh'd with Anger, to make my Court to her, by ſaying, *that before two Days were at an end, the Prince ſhould Affront her no longer.* But the Tenderneſs ſhe had for her beloved Cardinal, made her unwilling to conſent that I ſhould continue to exclaim againſt his Eminence in Parliament, where one was oblig'd to handle him very roughly almoſt every quarter of an Hour. She bid me remember, that 'twas the Cardinal that had ſollicited for my Nomination. I anſwer'd, that I was highly oblig'd to his Eminence upon that ſcore, and that I was ready to give him Proofs of my Acknowledgment, in any thing wherein my Honour was not concern'd; but that I ſhould be a double Dealer, if I promiſed to contribute to his Re-eſtabliſhment. Then ſhe ſaid, *Go, you are a very Devil. See Madame* Palatine, *and let me hear from you the Night before you go to the Parliament.*

I don't think I was in the Wrong to refuſe her Offer: *We muſt never jeſt with proffer'd Service, for*

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for if it be real, we can never embrace it too much; but if false, we can never keep off at too great a Distance. I lamented to the Publick the sad Condition of our Affairs, which had oblig'd me to leave my dear Retirement, where, after so much Disturbance and Confusion, I hop'd to enjoy comfortable Rest; that we were falling into a worse Condition than we were in before, because the State suffer'd more by the daily Negociations carry'd on with *Mazarin*, than it had done by his Administration; and that the Queen was still buoy'd up with hopes of his Re-establishment.

The Prince of *Conde* having inflamed the Parliament, to make himself more formidable to the Queen and Court, some new Scenes were opened every Day. At one time they sent to the Provinces, to inform against the Cardinal. At another time, they made search after his Effects at *Paris*.

I went one Day with 400 Men in my Company, to the Parliament-House, where the Prince of *Conde* inveigh'd against the Exportation of Money out of the Kingdom by the Cardinal's Banker. But afterwards, I absented a while from Parliament, which made me suspected of being less an Enemy to the Cardinal, and I was pelted with a dozen or fifteen Libels in a Fortnights time, by a Fellow, whose Nose had been slit for writing a Lampoon against a Lady of Quality. I compos'd a short, but general Answer to all, intituled: *An Apology for the ancient and true Fronde.* There was a strong Paper War between the old and new *Fronde* for 3 or 4 Months, but afterwards they united in the Attack of *Mazarin*. There were above 60 Volumes of Tracts writ during the Civil War; but I am sure that there are not a hundred Sheets worth reading.

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I was ſent for again to another private Conference with the Queen, who dreading an Accommodation with the Prince of *Conde*, was for his being arreſted, and adviſed me to conſider how it might be done. It ſeems that Monſieur *Hoquincourt* had offer'd her to kill him in the Street, as the ſhorteſt Way to be rid of him, for ſhe referr'd me to confer about it with *Hoquincourt*, *who will*, ſaid ſhe, *ſhew you a much ſurer Way*. The Queen, nevertheleſs, would not own ſhe had ever ſuch a Thought, tho' ſhe was heard to ſay, *The* Coadjutor *is not a Man of ſo much Courage as I took him for.*

The next Day, I was acquainted, that the Queen could endure the Prince no longer, and that ſhe had Advices, that he had form'd a Deſign to ſeize the King; that he had diſpatch'd Orders to *Flanders*, to treat with the *Spaniards*, and that either he or ſhe muſt be ruin'd: That ſhe was not for ſhedding Blood, and that what *Hoquincourt* propos'd, was far from it; becauſe he promis'd to ſecure the Prince without ſtriking a Blow, if I would engage for the People.

The Parliament continued to proſecute *Mazarin*, who was convicted of Embezzling nine Millions out of the publick Caſh. The Prince aſſembled the Chambers, and perſwaded them to iſſue out a new Arret againſt all thoſe of the Court Party, who held Correſpondence with the ſaid Cardinal.

The Prince of *Conde* being uneaſie to ſee *Mazarin*'s Creatures ſtill at Court, retir'd to St. *Maur*, the *6th* of *July* 1651. On the *7th*, the Prince of *Conti* acquainted the Parliament with the Reaſons of his Departure, and talk'd in general, of the Advices he had receiv'd from different Hands, of a Deſign the Court had formed againſt his Life, adding, that his Brother could not be ſafe at Court, as long as *Tellier*, *Servien*, and

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and *Lionne*, were not remov'd. There was a very hot Debate in the enſuing Seſſion, between the Prince of *Conti*, and the firſt Preſident. The latter talk'd very warmly againſt his Retreat to St. *Maur*, and call'd it a melancholy Prelude to a Civil War. He hinted alſo, that the ſaid Prince was the Author of the late Diſturbances; upon which, the Prince of *Conti* threaten'd, that had he been in any other Place, he would have taught him to obſerve the Reſpect due to Princes of the Blood. The firſt Preſident ſaid, that he did not fear his Threats, and that he had Reaſon to complain of his Royal Highneſs for preſuming to interrupt him in a Place, where he repreſented the King's Perſon. Both Parties were ready to go together by the Ears, and the Duke, who was very glad to ſee it, did not interpoſe till he could not avoid it, and then he told them both, that they ſhould endeavour to keep their Temper.

On the 14*th* of *July*, an Arret was paſs'd, upon a Motion made by the Duke of *Orleans*, that the Thanks of the Parliament ſhould be preſented to her Majeſty, for her gracious Promiſe, that the Cardinal ſhould never return. That ſhe ſhould be moſt humbly intreated to ſend a Declaration to Parliament, and likewiſe to give the Prince of *Conde* all the neceſſary Securities for his Return. And that thoſe Perſons who kept Correſpondence with *Mazarin*, ſhould be immediately Proſecuted.

On the 18*th*, the firſt Preſident carry'd the Remonſtrances of the Parliament to the Queen; and tho' he took care to keep within the Terms of the Arret, by not naming the Under Miniſters, yet he pointed 'em out in ſuch a Manner, that the Queen complain'd bitterly, ſaying, that the firſt Preſident was an unaccountable Man, and more vexatious than any of the Malecontents.

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And when I took the freedom to ſhew her, that the Repreſentative of an Aſſembly could not, without Prevarication, but deliver the Thoughts of the whole Body, tho' they might be different from his own; She reply'd very angrily, *Theſe are meer Republican Maxims.*

I will give you an Account of the Succeſs of the Remonſtrances, after I have related an Adventure to you which happen'd at the Parliament-Houſe during theſe Debates.

The Curioſity of the Subject, drew thither a World of Ladies to hear what paſs'd. Madame and Mademoiſelle *de Chevreuſe*, with many other Ladies, were there the Evening before the Arret paſs'd; but they were ſingled out from the reſt by one *Maillard*, a bawling Fellow, hired by the Prince's Party. As Ladies are commonly afraid of a Crowd, they ſtay'd till the Duke of *Orleans* and the reſt were gone out; but when they came into the Hall, they were hooted by 20 or 30 Ragamuffins of the ſame Quality with their Leader, who was a Cobler. I knew nothing of it till I came to the Palace of *Chevreuſe*, where I found Madame *de Chevreuſe* in a Rage, and her Daughter in Tears. I endeavour'd to comfort them, by aſſuring them that I would take care to get the Scoundrels puniſh'd in an exemplary Manner that very Day. But theſe were too inconſiderable Victims to atone for ſuch an Affront, and were therefore rejected with Indignation. The Blood of *Bourbon* only could make amends for the Injury done to that of *Lorain*. Theſe were the very Words of Madame *de Chevreuſe*. They reſolv'd at laſt upon this Expedient; *viz.* to go again next Morning to the Houſe, but ſo well accompanied, as to be in a Condition of making themſelves reſpected, and of giving the Prince of *Conti* to underſtand, that it was his Intereſt to keep his Party, for the future,

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ture from committing the like Insolence. *Montresor*, who happen'd to be with us, did all he could to convince the Ladies how dangerous it was to make a private Quarrel of a public one, especially at a time, when a Prince of the Blood might possibly lose his Life in the Fray. When he found that he could not prevail upon them, he us'd all Means to oblige me to put off my Resentment, for which end, he drew me aside to tell me, what Joy and Triumph it would be to my Enemies, to suffer my self to be captivated or led away by the Violence of the Ladies Passion. I made him the following Answer: "I am certainly to blame, both with regard to "my Profession, and on account of my having "my Hands full, to be so far engag'd with Ma- "demoiselle *de Chevreuse*; but considering the "Obligation I am under to her, and that 'tis "too late to recede from it, I am in the right "for demanding Satisfaction in this present Con- "juncture. I will not by any means assassinate "the Prince of *Conti*; but she may command me "to do any thing except poisoning or assassina- "ting, and therefore speak no more to me on "this Head.

The Ladies went again therefore next Day, being accompanied with four Hundred Gentlemen, and above four Thousand of the most substantial Burghers. The Rabble that was hired to make a Clamour in the great Hall, sneak'd out of Sight, and the Prince of *Conti*, who had not been appriz'd of this Assembly, which was form'd with prodigious Secrecy, was fain to pass by Madame and Mademoiselle *de Chevreuse*, with Demonstrations of the profoundest Respect, and to suffer *Maillard*, who was caught on the Stairs of the Chappel, to be soundly cudgelled.

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I return to the Iſſue of the Remonſtrances. The Queen told the Deputies that ſhe would next Morning ſend to the Houſe a Declaration againſt Cardinal *Mazarin*.

On the 21ſt, the Prince of *Conde* came to Parliament, accompanied by Monſieur *de Rochefoucaut*, and fifty or ſixty Gentlemen, and congratulated them upon the Removal of the Miniſters; but ſaid, that it could not be effectual, without inſerting an Article in the Declaration which the Queen had promiſed to ſend to the Parliament. The firſt Preſident ſaid, that it would be both unjuſt and inconſiſtent with the Reſpect due to the Queen, to demand new Conditions of her every Day; that her Majeſty's Promiſe, of which ſhe had made the Parliament a Depoſitary, was a ſufficient Security; that it were to be wiſh'd, the Prince had ſhewed a due Confidence therein, by repairing to the Royal Palace, rather than to a Court of Juſtice; and that the Poſt he was in obliged him to expreſs his ſurprize at ſuch Conduct. The Prince reply'd, That the firſt Preſident had no Reaſon to wonder at his great Precautions, ſince he (the Prince) knew, by late woful Experience, what it was to live in a Priſon; and that it was notorious, that the Cardinal ruled now in the Cabinet more abſolutely than ever he did before.

The Duke of *Orleans*, who was gone to *Limours*, on Pretence of taking the Air, tho' on purpoſe to be abſent from Parliament, being informed that the very Women cry'd at the King's Coach, *No Mazarin*; and that the Prince of *Conde* had met the King in the Ring, as well attended as his Majeſty, was ſo frighted, that he returned to *Paris*, and, on the 2*d* of *Auguſt*, went to Parliament, where I appear'd with all my Friends, and a great Number of wealthy Citizens. The firſt Preſident mightily extoll'd the Queen's

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Queen's Goodneſs, in making the Parliament the Depoſitary of her Promiſe, for the Security of the Prince, who, being there preſent, was ask'd by the firſt Preſident, if he had waited on the King? The Prince anſwer'd, No; becauſe he knew there would be Danger in it, having been well informed, that ſecret Conferences had been held to Arreſt him; and that in a proper Time and Place he would name the Authors. The Prince added, that Meſſengers were continually going and coming betwixt the Court and *Mazarin* at *Breuil*, and that Mareſchal *d' Aumont* had Orders to cut the Regiments of *Conde*, *Conti*, and *Enguien* in Pieces, which was the only Reaſon that had hindred them from joining the King's Army.

The firſt Preſident told him, That he was ſorry to ſee him there before he had waited on the King; and that it ſeem'd as if he was for ſetting up Altar againſt Altar. This nettled the Prince to that degree, that he ſaid, thoſe that talk'd againſt him, had only Self-Intereſt in View. The firſt Preſident deny'd that he had any ſuch Aim, and ſaid, that he was accountable to the King only for his Actions. Then he exaggerated the Danger of the State, from the unhappy Diviſion of the Royal Family.

In fine, It was reſolv'd *Nemine Contradicente*, that the Solicitor General ſhould be commiſſioned to proſecute thoſe who had adviſed the Arreſting of the Prince of *Conde*; that the Queen's Promiſe for the Safety of the Prince, ſhould be Regiſter'd; that his Royal Highneſs ſhould be deſir'd by the whole Aſſembly, to go and wait on the King; and that the Arrets paſſed againſt the Domeſticks of *Mazarin*, ſhould be put in execution. The Prince, who ſeem'd very well ſatisfied, ſaid, That nothing leſs than this could

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assure him of his Safety. The Duke of *Orleans* carried him to the King and the Queen, from whom he met with but a cold Reception.

At the Close of this Session, the Declaration against the Cardinal was read, and sent back to the Chancellor, because it was not inserted, that the Cardinal had hinder'd the Peace of *Munster*, and advis'd the King to undertake the Journey and Siege of *Bourdeaux*, contrary to the Opinion of the Duke of *Orleans*.

The Queen, provoked by the Prince of *Conde*'s Conduct, who rode through the Streets of *Paris* better attended than the King; and also by the Duke's, whom she found continually given to change, resolved, in a Fit of Despair, to hazard all at once. Monsieur *de Chateauneuf* flatter'd her Inclination in that Point, and she was confirmed in it by a fiery Dispatch from *Mazarin* at *Breull*. She told the Duke of *Orleans* plainly, that she could no longer continue in her present Condition, demanded his express Declaration for or against her, and charg'd me, in his Presence, to keep the Promise I had made her, to declare openly against the Prince, if he continued to go on as he had begun.

Her Majesty was convinc'd that I acted sincerely for her Service, and that I made no Scruple to keep my Promise; and she condescended to make Apologies for the Distrusts she had entertain'd of my Conduct, and for the Injustice she own'd she had done me.

On the 19th, the Prince of *Conde* having tax'd me with being the Author of a Paper against him, which was read that Day in the House, said, he had a Paper, signed by the Duke of *Orleans*, which contain'd his Justification, and that he should be much oblig'd to the Parliament, if they would be pleas'd to desire her Ma-

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Majesty to name his Accusers, against whom he demanded Justice. As to the Paper of which he charg'd me with being the Author, he said, it was a Composition worthy of a Man who had advised the Arming of the *Parisians*, and the Wresting of the Seals from Him with whom the Queen had intrusted them.

The Prince of *Conti* was observ'd to press his Brother to resent what I said in my Defence; but he kept his Temper: For tho' I was very well accompanied, yet he was considerably superiour to me in Number; so that if the Sword had been drawn, he must have had the Advantage. But I resolv'd to appear there the next Day, with a greater Retinue. The Queen was transported with Joy, to hear that there were Men, who had the Resolution to dispute the Wall with the Prince. * She order'd 30 *Gens d'Arms*, and as many Light Horse, to be posted where I pleas'd; I had 40 Men sent me pick'd out of the Sergeants and bravest Soldiers of one of the Regiments of Guards, and some of the Officers of the City Companies, assembled a great Number of substantial Burghers, who had all Pistols and Daggers under their Cloaks. I also sent many of my Men to the Eating-Houses thereabouts, so that the great Hall was as it were invested on every side with my Friends. I posted thirty Gentlemen as a Reserve, in a convenient Chamber, who, in Case of an Attack, were to assault the Party of the Prince in Flank and Rear. I had also laid up a Store of Grenadoes. In a Word, my Measures were so just-

* *The Queen, says* Monsieur de Rochefoucaut, *in his Memoirs, was overjoy'd to see two Men at Variance, whom in her Heart she hated almost equally. . . . . Nevertheless, she seemed to Protect the* Coadjutor, *&c.*

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ly concerted, both within and without the Parliament-House, that *Pont Notre Dame*, and *Pont St. Michel*, that were passionately in my Interest, only waited for the Signal; so that in all likelihood, I could not fail of being Conqueror.

On the 21st in the Morning, all the Prince of *Conde*'s humble Servants repair'd to his House, and my Friends did the like to mine; particularly the Marquisses of *Rouillac* and *Camillac*, famous both for their Courage and Extravagancies. As soon as the latter saw *Rouillac*, he made me a low Bow in a withdrawing Posture, saying, Sir, I came to offer you my Service, but 'tis not reasonable that the two greatest Fools in the Kingdom should be of the same Side. The Prince came to the House with a numerous Attendance, and tho' I believe he had not so many as I, he had more Persons of Quality; for I had only the *Frond* Nobility of my Side, except three or four, who, tho' in the Queen's Interest, were nevertheless my particular Friends; this Disadvantage however was abundantly made up, by the great Interest I had among the People, and the advantageous Posts I was possessed of. After the Prince had taken his Place, he said, That he was surpriz'd to see the Parliament-House look more like a Camp, than a Temple of Justice; that there were Posts taken, and Men under Command; and that he hoped there were not Men in the Kingdom so Insolent, as to dispute the Precedency with him. Whereupon, I humbly begg'd his Pardon, and told him, that I believ'd there was not a Man in *France* so insolent as to do it; but that there were some who could not, nor indeed ought not, on Account of their Dignity, to yield the Precedency to any Man but the King. The Prince reply'd, that he would make me yield it to him. I told him, he would find it no easie Matter. Upon this there

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was a great Outcry, and the young Counſellors of both Parties intereſted themſelves in the Conteſt, which you ſee began pretty warmly. The Preſidents interpos'd between us, conjuring him to have ſome regard to the Temple of Juſtice, and the Safety of the City, and deſiring that all the Nobility, and others in the Hall that were armed, might be turn'd out. He approv'd of it, and bid Monſieur *de Rochefoucaut* go and tell his Friends ſo from him. Upon which, I ſaid, I'll order my Friends to withdraw alſo. Young *d' Avaux*, now Preſident *de Meſmes*, then in the Prince's Intereſt, ſaid, *What, Sir, are you armed? Without doubt*, ſaid I; tho' I had better have held my Tongue; becauſe an Inferiour ought not to equal himſelf in Words to his Superiour, tho' he may equal him in Actions: Neither is it allowable in a Churchman, when arm'd, to confeſs it. There are ſome Things wherein Men are willing to be deceiv'd. Actions very often vindicate Mens Reputations in what they do againſt the Dignity of their Profeſſion; but nothing can juſtifie Words that are inconſiſtent with their Character.

As I had deſir'd my Friends to withdraw, and was entring into the Court of Judicature, I heard an Uproar in the Hall, of People crying out to Arms. I had a Mind to go back, to ſee what was the Matter; but I had not time to do it, for I found my ſelf caught by the Neck between the Foldings of the Door, which *Rochefoucaut* had ſhut upon me, crying out to Meſſieurs *Coligny* and *Ricouſſe* to kill me. The * firſt thought he

* *This Action is very much diſguiſed and ſoftened in the Memoirs of* Rochefoucaut. *Monſieur* Joly, *in his Memoirs*, Vol. I: pag. 155, *tells it almoſt in the ſame manner as the Cardinal* de Retz.

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he was not in earneſt, and the other told him, he had no ſuch Order from the Prince. Monſieur *Champlatreux*, running into the Hall, and ſeeing me in that Condition, puſh'd back Monſieur *Rochefoucaut* vigorouſly, telling him, that a Murder of that Nature was horrible and ſcandalous. He open'd the Door, and let me in. But this was not the greateſt Danger I was in, as you'll ſee, after I have told you the beginning and end of it.

Two or three of the Prince of *Conde*'s Mob, cry'd out as ſoon as they ſaw me, *A Mazarin*. Two of the Prince's Soldiers drew their Swords, thoſe next to them, cry'd out, *To your Arms*, and in a Trice, all were in a fighting Poſture. My Friends drew their Swords, Daggers, and Piſtols; and yet, as it were by a Miracle, they ſtopp'd their Hands on a ſudden from Action; for that very Inſtant of Time, *Crenan*, who commanded a Company of the Prince of *Conti*'s *Gens d'arms*, one of my old Friends, ſaid to *Laigues*, What are we doing? Muſt we let the Prince of *Conde* and the *Coadjutor* be murder'd? *Whoever does not put up his Sword is a Raſcal.* This Expreſſion coming from a Man of great Courage and Reputation, every one did as he bad them. Nor is *Argentevil*'s Courage and Preſence of Mind to be leſs admired: He being near me when I was caught by the Neck, between the folding Doors, and obſerving one * *Peche*, a bawling Fellow of the Prince's Party, looking for me with a Dagger in his Hand, ſcreen'd me with his Cloak, and thereby ſaved my Life, which was in the more Danger, becauſe my Friends, who ſuppos'd I was gone into the great Chamber, ſtay'd behind to engage with the Prince

* Joly *calls him the great Clamourer of the Prince. See his Memoirs*, pag. 157.

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Prince of *Conde*'s Party. The Prince told me since, that 'twas well I kept on the Defensive, and that had the Noise in the Hall continued but a Minute longer, he had himself taken me by the Throat, and made me pay for all; but I am fully perswaded, that the Consequence had been fatal to both Parties, and that he himself had narrowly escaped.

As soon as I was re-entred into the great Chamber, I told the first President, that I ow'd my Life to his Son, who, on that Occasion, did the most generous Action that a Man of Honour was capable of; because he was passionately attach'd to the Prince of *Conde*, and was perswaded, tho' without a Cause, that I was concerned in above Twenty Seditions against his Father, during the Siege of *Paris*. There are few Actions more Heroic than this, the Memory of which I shall carry to my Grave; and I added, that Monsieur *Rochefoucaut* had done all he could to murder me. * He answer'd me these very Words: *Thou Traytor, I don't care what becomes of thee.* I reply'd, *Very well, Friend Franchise,* (we gave him that nick Name in our Party,) *You are a Coward,* (I told a Lie, for he was certainly a brave Man) *and I am a Priest, but Duelling is not allow'd us.* Monsieur *de Brissac* threaten'd to cudgel him; and he to kick *Brissac*. The Presidents fearing these Words would end in Blows, got between us. The first President conjured the Prince pathetically, by the Blood of St. *Lewis*, not to defile that Temple with Blood, which

* *The Duke answer'd, as he says himself in his Memoirs, that Fear had disturb'd his Judgment,* &c. *See in the Memoirs of* Rochefoucaut, *the Relation of what pass'd since the Confinement of the Princes.*

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which he had given for the Preſervation of Peace, and the Protection of Juſtice; and exhorted me, by my ſacred Character, not to contribute to the Maſſacre of the People whom God had committed to my Charge. The Prince and I ſent out each two Gentlemen, to order our Friends and Servants to retire by different Ways. The Clock ſtruck Ten; the Houſe roſe; and thus ended that Morning's Work, which had like to have ruin'd *Paris*.

You may eaſily gueſs what a Commotion *Paris* muſt needs be in all that Morning. Tradeſmen work'd in their Shops with their Muskets by them, and the Women were at Prayers in the Churches. Sadneſs ſat on the Brows of all who were not actually engaged in either Party. The Prince, if we may believe the Count *de Fieſque*, told him, *That* Paris *was like to be burnt that Day. What a fine Bonefire this would have been*, ſaid he, *for the Cardinal! eſpecially to ſee it lighted by the two greateſt Enemies he had!* The Duke of *Orleans*, quite tir'd out with the Cries of the People, who ran frighted to his Palace, and fearing that the Commotion would not ſtop at the Parliament-Houſe, made the Prince promiſe, that he would not go next Day to the Parliament with above five in Company, provided I would engage to carry no more. I begg'd his Royal Highneſs to excuſe me, if I did not comply, becauſe I ſhould be wanting in my Reſpect to the Prince, with whom I ought not to make any Compariſon, and becauſe I ſhould be ſtill expoſed to a Pack of ſeditious Bawlers, who cry'd out againſt me, having no Laws, nor owning any Chief. I added, that 'twas only againſt this ſort of People that I armed; that there was ſo little Compariſon between a private Gentleman and his Highneſs, that 500 Men were leſs to the Prince, than a ſingle Lacquey to me. The Duke, who own'd I was in the right, went to the Queen, to repre-

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repreſent to her the evil Conſequences that would inevitably attend ſuch Meaſures.

The Queen, who neither fear'd nor foreſaw Dangers, made no Account of his Remonſtrances, for ſhe was glad in the main, of the Dangers which ſeem'd to be ſo near at Hand. When *Bertet* and *Brachet*, who crept up in the Garrets of the Palace Royal, for Fear of having their Throats cut in the general Commotion, had made her ſenſible, that if the Prince and myſelf ſhould periſh in ſuch a Juncture, it would occaſion ſuch a Confuſion, that the very Name of *Mazarin* might become fatal to the Royal Family; ſhe yielded at laſt rather to the Fears, than to the Reaſons of Mankind, and conſented to ſend an Order in the King's Name, to forbid both the Prince and me to go to the Houſe. The firſt Preſident, who was well aſſured that the Prince would not obey an Order of that Nature, which could not be forced upon him with Juſtice, becauſe his Preſence was neceſſary in the Parliament, went to the Queen, and made her ſenſible, that it would be againſt all Juſtice and Equity to forbid the Prince to be preſent in an Aſſembly, where he went only to clear himſelf from a Crime laid to his Charge. He ſhewed her the Difference between the firſt Prince of the Blood, whoſe Preſence would be neceſſary in that Conjuncture, and a Coadjutor of *Paris*, who never had a Seat in the Parliament but by Courteſy.

The Queen yielded at laſt to theſe Reaſons, and to the Inſtances of all the Court Ladies, who dreaded the Noiſe and Confuſion which was like to be next Day in the Parliament Houſe.

The Parliament met next Day, and reſolved that all the Papers both of the Queen, Duke of *Orleans*, and the Prince of *Conde*, ſhould be carried to the King and Queen; that her Majeſty ſhould be humbly intreated to ſmother the Affair; and that the

Duke

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Duke of *Orleans* ſhould be deſir'd to mediate an Accommodation.

As the Prince was coming out of the Parliament Houſe, attended by a Multitude of his Friends, I met him in his Coach as I was at the Head of a Proceſſion of 30 or 40 Curates of *Paris*, followed by a great Number of People. Upon my Approach, three or four of the Mob following the Prince, cry'd out, *A Mazarin*; but the Prince alighted, and * ſilenced them, and fell on his Knees to receive my Bleſſing; which I gave him with my Cap on, and then pull'd it off in Obeiſance.

The Queen was ſo well pleas'd with my prudent Conduct, that I can truly ſay, I was a Favourite for ſome Days. Madame *de Carignan* was telling her one Day, that I was very homely; to which the Queen reply'd, *He has a very fine Set of Teeth, and a Man can't be call'd homely that has this Ornament.* Madame *de Chevreuſe* remember'd, that ſhe had often heard the Queen ſay, that the Beauty of a Man conſiſted chiefly in his Teeth, becauſe it was the only Beauty which was of any Uſe. Therefore ſhe adviſed me to act my Part well, and ſhe ſhould not deſpair of Succeſs. When you are with the Queen, ſays ſhe, be ſerious: Look continually on her Hands: Storm againſt the Cardinal; and I'll take Care of the reſt. I asked two or three Audiences of the Queen upon very trifling Occaſions; followed Madame's Plan very punctually; and puſhed my Uneaſineſs and Paſſion againſt the Cardinal even to Extravagance. The Queen, who was naturally a Coquet, underſtood

* *M.* Rochefoucaut, *in his Memoirs, ſays, that the People abuſed the Coadjutor with ſcurrilous Language, and had torn him in Pieces, if the Prince had not order'd his Men to appeaſe the Tumult.*

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ſtood thoſe Airs, and acquainted Madame there-with, who pretended to be ſurprized: 'Indeed 'I have heard the Coadjutor, *ſaid ſhe*, talk of 'your Majeſty whole Days with Delight; but if 'the Converſation happen'd to touch upon the 'Cardinal, he was no longer the ſame Man, and 'even rav'd againſt your Majeſty; but immediately relented towards your Majeſty, though 'never towards the Cardinal.'

Madame *de Chevreuſe*, who was the Queen's Confident in her Nonage, gave me ſuch a Hiſtory of her early Days, as I cannot omit giving you; tho' I ſhould have done it ſooner. She told me, that the Queen was neither in Body nor Mind truly *Spaniſh*; that ſhe neither had the Temperament nor the Vivacity of her Nation, but only the Coquettry of it, which ſhe retain'd in Perfection: That Monſieur *Bellegarde*, a gallant old Gentleman, after the Faſhion of *Henry the Third*'s Court, pleas'd her till he was going to the Army, when he begg'd for one Favour before his Departure, which was, only to put her Hand to the Hilt of his Sword, a Compliment ſo inſipid, that her Majeſty was out of Conceit with him ever after. She approv'd the gallant manner of M. *de Montmorency*, much more than ſhe lov'd his Perſon. The Averſion ſhe had to the Pedantick Behaviour of Cardinal *Richelieu*, who in his Amours was as ridiculous, as he was in other Things excellent, made her irreconcileable to his Addreſſes. She had obſerved from the Beginning of the Regency, a great Inclination in the Queen for *Mazarin*, but that ſhe had not been able to diſcover how far that Inclination went, becauſe ſhe (Madame *de Chevreuſe*) had been baniſh'd the Court very ſoon after. And that upon her Return to *France*, after the Siege of *Paris*, the Queen was ſo reſerv'd at firſt with her, that 'twas impoſſible for her to dive into her Secrets. That ſince ſhe regain'd her Majeſty's Fa-

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Favour, she had sometimes observ'd the same Airs in her, with regard to the Cardinal *Mazarin*, as she used to display formerly in Favour of the Duke of *Buckingham*; but at other times, she thought by some Circumstances, that there was no more between them than a League of Friendship. The chief Ground for her Conjecture, was the unpolite, and almost rude Way of the Cardinal's conversing with her Majesty. But however, said Madame *de Chevreuse*, when I reflect on the Queen's Humour, all this may admit of another Interpretation. *Buckingham* used to tell me formerly, that he had been in Love with three Queens, and was oblig'd to curb all the three; therefore I can't tell what to think of the Matter.

To resume the History of more public Affairs. I did not so far please myself with the Figure I made against Monsieur the Prince, (tho' I thought it very much for my Honour,) but I saw clearly that I stood on dangerous Precipices. *Whither are we going?* said I, to Monsieur *Believre*, who seem'd to be over-joy'd that Monsieur the Prince had not been able to devour me. *For whom do we Labour? I know that we are oblig'd to act as we do; I know too that we can't do better; but should we rejoice at the fatal Necessity which pushes us on to exert an Action comparatively good, which will unavoidably end in a superlative evil?* I understand you, said the President, and will interrupt you for one Moment, to tell you what I learn'd of *Cromwel*, (whom he had known in *England*.) He told me one Day, That *'tis then we are mounting highest, when we don't know our selves whither we are going. You know, Sir*, said I *to* Believre, *that I abhor* Cromwel; *and whatever is commonly reported of his great Parts, if he is of this Opinion, I must pronounce him a Fool.* I mention this Dialogue to no other purpose, than to observe, how dangerous it is to talk disrespectfully of Men in high Posts; for it was carried

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to *Cromwel*, who remember'd it with a great deal of Reſentment, on an Occaſion which I ſhall mention hereafter, and ſaid to Monſieur *de Bourdeaux*, Ambaſſador of *France*, then in *England*, *I know but one Man in the World who deſpiſes me, and that is Cardinal* de Retz. This Opinion of him had like to have coſt me very dear. I return from this Digreſſion.

The 31ſt, *Melayer*, Valet de Chamber to the Cardinal, arriv'd with a Diſpatch to the Queen, in which were theſe expreſs Words; *Give the Prince of* Conde *all the Declarations of his Innocence that he can deſire, provided you can but amuſe him, and hinder him from giving you the ſlip.*

On the 4th, the Prince of *Conde* inſiſted in Parliament on a formal Arret for declaring his Innocence, which was granted, but deferr'd to be publiſh'd till the ſeventh of *September*, the Day that the King was declar'd a Major; on Pretence of rendering it more Authentique and Solemn by the King's Preſence, but really to gain Time, and ſee what Influence the Splendor of Royal Majeſty, which was to be clothed that Day with all the Advantages of Pomp, would have upon the Minds of the People.

But the Prince of *Conde*, who had Reaſon to miſtruſt both the *Frond* and the Court, did not appear at the Ceremony, and ſent the Prince of *Conti* to the King, to deſire to be excus'd, becauſe the Calumnies and Treacheries of his Enemies would not ſuffer him to come to the Palace; adding, that he kept away out of pure Reſpect to his Majeſty. This laſt Expreſſion, which ſeem'd to intimate, that otherwiſe he might have gone thither without Danger, provok'd the Queen to that Degree, that ſhe ſaid, *The Prince, or I, muſt periſh.*

The Prince of *Conde* retir'd to *Bourges*, farther from Court. He was naturally averſe to a Civil War,

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War, nor had his Adherents been more forward than himself, had they but found their respective Interests in his Accommodation with the Court; but this seem'd impracticable, wherefore they agreed upon a Civil War; because none of them believ'd himself Powerful enough to conclude a Peace. They know nothing of the Nature of Faction, who imagine the Head of a Party to be their Master. His true Interest is most commonly thwarted, even by the imaginary Interest of his Subalterns. And the worst on't is, that his own Honour sometimes, and generally *Prudence*, join with them against himself. The Passions and Discontents which reign'd then among the Friends of the Prince of *Conde*, ran so high, that they oblig'd themselves to abandon him, and form a third Party under the Authority of the Prince of *Conti*, in Case the Prince did accommodate his Affairs with the Court, according to a Proposition then made to him, in the Name of the Duke of *Orleans*. The Subdivision of Parties is generally the Ruine of all, especially when 'tis introduc'd by cunning Views, directly contrary to Prudence; and this is what the *Italians* call in Comedy, a Plot within a Plot: *Or*, a Wheel within a Wheel.

MEMOIRS

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MEMOIRS

OF THE

Cardinal *De* RETZ, &c.

BOOK IV.

IN *December* 1651, the Parliament came to the following Reſolutions; *viz.* To ſend a Deputation to the King, to inform him of the Rumours of *Mazarin*'s Return, and to beſeech him to confirm the Royal Promiſe which He had made to his People upon that Head. To forbid all Governours to give the Cardinal Paſſage. To deſire the King to acquaint the Pope, and other Princes, of the

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Reasons that had oblig'd him to remove the Cardinal; and to send to all the Parliaments of the Kingdom to make the like Arrest.

Some Body making a Motion that a Price might be set upon the Cardinal's Head, I and the rest of the Spiritual Counsellors retired; because Clergy Men are forbid by the Canons to give their Vote in Cases of Life and Death.

They agreed also to send Deputies to the King, to intreat him to write to the Elector of *Colen*, to send the Cardinal out of his Country; and to forbid the Magistrates of all Cities to entertain any Troops sent to favour his Return, or any of his Kindred or Domesticks. A certain Counsellor, who said very judiciously, that the Soldiers assembling for *Mazarin* upon the Frontiers, would laugh at all the Arrets of Parliament, unless they were proclaim'd to them by good Musqueteers and Pikemen, was run down, as if he had talk'd Nonsense, and all the Clamour was, that it belonged only to the King to disband Soldiers.

The Duke of *Orleans* acquainted the House on the 29th, that Cardinal *Mazarin* was arriv'd at *Sedan*; that the Mareschals d'*Hoquincourt* and *de la Ferté* were gone to join him with their Army, to bring him to Court, and that 'twas high time to oppose his Designs. Upon this, it was immediately resolv'd that Deputies should be dispatch'd forthwith to the King, that the Cardinal, and all his Adherents, should be declared guilty of high Treason; that the common People should be commanded to treat them as such wherever they met them; that his Library, and all his Houshold Stuff, should be sold; and that one Hundred and fifty Thousand Livres *premium*, should be given to any Man who should bring the said Cardinal either dead or alive. Upon this Expression, all the Ecclesiasticks retir'd, for the Reason abovemention'd.

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A new Arret was pass'd on the 2d of *January* 1652, wherein it was decreed, that all the Parliaments of *France* should be invited to issue out their Arrets against *Mazarin*, conformable to the last; that two Counsellors more should be added to the four sent to guard the Rivers, and to Arm the common People; and that the Troops of the Duke of *Orleans*, should oppose the March of *Mazarin*.

On the 24th, the Deputies who had been at *Poictiers*, to remonstrate to the King against the Return of the Cardinal, made their Report in Parliament; that his Majesty, after having advised with the Queen, and her Council, returned for answer, that without doubt, when the Parliament issued their late Arrets, they did not know that Cardinal *Mazarin* had made no Levy of Soldiers, but by his Majesty's express Order; that it was He who commanded him to enter *France* with his Troops, and that therefore the King did not resent what the Company had done; but that on the other Hand, he did not doubt, that when they had heard the Circumstances he had just mentioned, and knew moreover, that Cardinal *Mazarin* only desired an Opportunity to justifie himself, they would not fail to give all his Subjects, an exemplary Proof of the Obedience they ow'd to Him. The Parliament was highly provok'd, and next Day Resolv'd to admit no more Dukes, and Peers, and Mareschals of *France*, till the Cardinal was gone out of the Kingdom.

Mazarin arriving at Court again, determin'd the King to go to *Saumur*, tho' others advis'd him to march to *Guienne*, against the Prince of *Conde*, with whom the Duke of *Orleans* was now resolv'd to join Forces. The King went from *Saumur* to *Tours*, where the Archbishop of *Roan* carry'd Complaints to the

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King, in the Name of the Biſhops there, againſt the Arrets of Parliament relating to the Cardinal.

The Duke of *Orleans* complained in Parliament againſt the Inconſiſtency of their Proceedings, and ſaid, the King had ſent him *Carte blanche*, in order to oblige him to conſent to the Reſtoration of the Cardinal; but that nothing in the World could ever oblige him to it, nor even to divide from the Parliament. Yet their unaccountable Proceedings perplex'd him beyond Expreſſion, ſo that he commanded, or rather permitted, Monſieur *de Beaufort* to put his Troops upon Action. And becauſe I told him, that I thought, conſidering the Declarations he had ſo often repeated againſt *Mazarin*, his Conduct, in giving Motion to his Troops againſt him, did not add ſo much to the Meaſure of the Diſguſt he had already given to the Court, that he need to apprehend much from it; he gave me for anſwer theſe memorable Words, which I have reflected upon a thouſand Times. "If you, ſays he, had "been born a Son of *France*, an Infante of *Spain*, "a King of *Hungary*, or a Prince of *Wales*, you "would not talk as you do. You muſt know, "that with us Princes, Words go for nothing, "but that we never forget Actions. By to-Mor-"row Noon, the Queen would not remember my "Declarations againſt the Cardinal, if I would "admit him to Morrow Morning; but if my "Troops fire a Muſket, ſhe would not forgive "me, tho' we were to live two Thouſand Years "hence.

In *February* 1652, I was made a Cardinal, and was to receive the Hat, as all *French* Cardinals do, from the King. My Enemies, who thought to ruine my Credit with the Duke of *Orleans*, gave out that I had been oblig'd to the Court for my Dignity, attack'd me in Form as a ſecret Fa-

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Favourer of *Mazarin*; and while their Emiſſaries gained over ſuch of the Dregs of the People as they could corrupt by Money, they were ſupported by all the Intrigues of the Cabinet. But the Duke, who knew better, only laugh'd at them; ſo that they confirmed me in his good Opinion, inſtead of ſupplanting me; becauſe, in Caſes of Slander, every Reflection that does not hurt the Perſon attacked, does him Service: I ſaid to the Duke, that I wonder'd he was not wearied out with the ſilly Stories that were told him every Day againſt me, ſince they all harp'd upon one String. But he ſaid, *Do you make no Account of the Pleaſure one takes every Morning, in hearing how wicked Men are under the Cloak of a religious Zeal, and every Night, how ſilly they are under the Maſk of Politicians?* But the Servants of the Prince of *Conde* gave out ſuch Stories againſt me among the Populace, as had like to have done me much more Miſchief. They had a Pack of bawling Fellows in Pay, who were more troubleſome to me now, than they were formerly, when they did not dare to appear before the numerous Retinue of Gentlemen and Livery Men that accompany'd me: For as I had not yet had the Cap, I was obliged, wherever I went, to go *incognito*, according to the Rules of the Ceremonial. Thoſe Fellows ſaid, that I had betray'd the Duke of *Orleans*, and that they would be the Death of me. I told the Duke, who was afraid they would murder me, that he ſhould ſoon ſee how little thoſe hired Mobs ought to be regarded. He offered me his Guards, but tho' the Mareſchal *d' Eſtampes* fell on his Knees in my Way to ſtop me, I went down Stairs with only two Perſons in Company, and made directly towards the Incendiaries, demanding who was their Leader? Upon which, a Beggarly Fellow, with an old yellow Feather in his Hat, anſwer'd me inſolently, *I am He.* Then I call'd out to the Guards

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at the Gate, saying, *Let me have this Rascal hang'd up at these Grates.* Upon this he made me a very low Bow, and said, "That he did not mean to "affront me; that he only came with his Com-"rades to tell me of the Report that I design'd "to carry the Duke of *Orleans* to Court, and re-"concile him with *Mazarin*, that they did not "believe it, that they were at my Service, and "ready to venture their Lives for me, provided "I would but promise them to be always an "honest Frondeur.

The Duke of *Orleans* took such Delight in conversing with me, that *Goulas*, the Secretary of his Orders, telling him, that all the Foreign Officers took mighty Umbrage at it; he took him up very sharply, and said: *Go to the Devil you and your Foreign Officers; if they were as good Frondeurs as the Cardinal* de Retz, *they would be at their Posts, and not sotting in the Taverns of* Paris. There was such a strong Faction in the City of *Orleans* for the Court, that his Presence there was very necessary; but as it was much more so at *Paris*, the Duke was prevail'd upon by his Dutchess to let her go thither. M. *Patru* was pleas'd to say, that as the Gates of *Jericho* fell at the Sound of Trumpets, those of *Orleans* would open at the Sound of Fiddles, of which M. *de Rohan* was reckoned a very passionate Admirer. But, in short, tho' the King was just at Hand with the Troops, and tho' M. *Molé*, Keeper of the Seals, was at the Gate, demanding Entrance for the King, the Dutchess passed the River in a Wherry, made the Watermen break down a little Postern, which had been wall'd up for a long Time, and marched with the Acclamations of Multitudes of the People directly to the Town-house, where the Magistrates were met to consult if they should admit the Keeper of the Seals. By this Means she turned the Scale, and

Messieurs

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Meſſieurs *de Beaufort* and *de Nemours* immediately joyn'd her.

The Prince of *Conde* arriving at *Paris* from *Guienne* on the 11*th* of *April*, the Magiſtrates had a Meeting in the Town-houſe, in which they reſolved, that the Governor ſhould wait on his Royal Highneſs, and tell him, that the Company thought it contrary to Order, to receive him into the City before he had cleared himſelf from the King's Declaration, which had been verified in Parliament againſt him.

The Duke of *Orleans*, who was overjoyed at this Speech, ſaid, that the Prince was only come to diſcourſe with him about private Affairs, and that he would ſtay but 24 Hours at *Paris*. M. *de Chavigny* told the Duke, that the Prince was able to ſtand his Ground as long as he pleaſed, without being obliged to any body: And he got together a Mob of Scoundrels upon the *Pont-Neuf*, whoſe Fingers itched to be plundering the Houſe of M. *du Pleſſis Guenegaut*, and by whom the Duke was frightned to a great Degree.

The Reflexions I had Leiſure to make upon my new Dignity, obliged me to take great Care of my Hat, whoſe dazling Flame Colour turns the Heads of many that are honoured with it. The moſt palpable of thoſe Deluſions, is the Claim of preceding Princes of the Blood, who may become our Maſters the next moment, and who at the ſame Time are generally the Maſters of all our Kindred. I have a Veneration for the Cardinals of my Family, who made me ſuck in Humility after their Example with my Mother's Milk, and I found a very happy Opportunity to practiſe it on the very Day that I received the News of my Promotion. *Chateau-Briant* told me, before a vaſt Number of People at my Levee: *Now we will pay our Reſpects no more to the beſt of them:* which he ſaid, becauſe tho' I was upon ill Terms

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with the Prince of *Conde*, and tho' I always went well attended, yet I ſaluted him wherever I met him, with all the Reſpect due to him, on the Score of ſo many Titles. I ſaid to him, *Pray pardon me, Sir, we will ſtill pay our Reſpects to the great Men with more Complaiſance than ever. God forbid, that the Red Hat ſhould turn my Head to that Degree, as to make me diſpute Precedency with the Princes of the Blood. 'Tis Honour enough for a Gentleman, to walk Side by Side with them.* This Expreſſion, I verily believe, ſecured the Rank of Precedency to the Hat afterwards in the Kingdom of *France*, by the Courteſy of the Prince of *Conde*, and his Friendſhip for me.

Mademoiſelle *de Chevreuſe*, the moſt fantaſtical Lady upon Earth, ſuſpecting that I held a ſecret Correſpondence with the Queen, could not forbear murmuring, and threatning what ſhe would do. She ſaid, I had declared to her 1000 Times, that I could not imagine how it was poſſible for any Body to be in Love with that *Swiſs* Woman. In ſhort, ſhe work'd it about ſo, that the Queen had a Notion from ſome body or other, that I had called her by that Name; She never forgave me for it, as you will perceive in the Sequel. You may eaſily conceive that this Circumſtance, which gave me no Encouragement to hope for a very gracious Reception at Court for the Time to come, did not weaken thoſe Reſolutions which I had already taken to retire from publick Buſineſs: The Place of my Retreat was agreeable enough; the Shadow of *Notre dame* Towers was a Refreſhment to it; and moreover, the Cardinal's Hat ſhelter'd it from bad Weather: I had fine Idea's of the Sweetneſs of ſuch a Retirement, and I would gladly have laid hold on it; but my Stars would not have it ſo. I return to my Narrative.

On

On the 12*th* of *April*, the Duke of *Orleans* took the Prince of *Conde* with him to the Parliament; whom they assured, that he had not, nor ever would have any other Intention, than to serve his King and Country; that he would always follow the Sentiments of the Parliament; and that he was willing to lay down his Arms, as soon as the Arrets against Cardinal *Mazarin* were put in Execution.

The President *Bailleul* said, that the Company always thought it an Honour to see the Prince of *Conde* in his Place, but that they could not dissemble their real Concern, to see his Hands stained with the Blood of the King's Soldiers, who were killed at *Bleneau*. Upon this a Storm arose from the Benches of the Inquest, which fell with such Fury upon the poor President, that he had scarce Room to put in a Word for himself, for 50 or 60 Voises disown'd him at one Volley.

On the 13*th*, the Parliament agreed, that the Declaration made by the Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince, should be carried to the King; that the Remonstrances they had sent to the King, should likewise be sent to all the Sovereign Companies of *Paris*, and to all the Parliaments of the Kingdom, to invite them to send a Deputation also on their Part; and that a general Assembly should be immediately held at the Town-house, to which the Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince should be invited, to make the same Declarations as they made to the Parliament; and that in the mean time, the King's Declaration against Cardinal *Mazarin*, and all the Arrets passed against him, should be put in Execution.

The 13*th* of *May*, a Counsellor of Parliament, and Captain of his Ward, having brought his Company to the Palace for the ordinary Guard, was abandoned by all the Burghers that compo-

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ſed it, who ſaid, they were not made to guard *Mazarins*.

The Mob, who at the ſame Time had like to have murder'd ſome of the Magiſtrates in the Streets, had nothing in their Mouths but the Name and Services of Meſſieurs the Princes, who next Day diſowned their humble Servants in the Aſſemblies of the ſeveral Courts; which, tho' it gave Occaſion to ſevere Arrets, which the Parliament iſſued at every turn againſt the Seditious, did not hinder the ſame Parliament from believing, that thoſe who diſowned the Sedition, were the Authors of it, and conſequently did not leſſen the Hatred which many private Men conceived againſt them. Such were the various and complicated Views every one had, conſidering the then Poſture of Affairs, that I wrapp'd myſelf up, as one may ſay, in my great Dignities, to which I abandon'd the Hopes of my Fortune; and I remember, that one Day the Preſident *Bellievre* telling me, that I ought not to be ſo indolent: I anſwered him; "We are in a great Storm, where, "methinks, we all row againſt the Wind: I "have two good Oars in my Hands, one of which "is the Cardinal's Dignity, and the other the "Archiepiſcopal: I am not willing to break them, "and all I have to do now is, to ſupport my "ſelf.

At the ſame Time I had other Uneaſineſſes of a more private Nature; Mademoiſelle *de Chevreuſe* fell in Love with my Rival the Abbot *Fouquet*: Little *de Roye*, who was a very pretty *German* Leſs at her Houſe, advertiſed me of it; and made me amends for the Infidelity of the Miſtreſs; whoſe Choice, to tell you the very Truth, did not mortifie me much, becauſe ſhe had nothing but Beauty, which cloys when it comes alone. She cared for no body beſides him ſhe loved; but as ſhe was never long in Love, ſo neither was it

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it long that she was in Temper: She used her cast-off Lovers as she did her old Cloaths, which other Women lay aside, but she burnt; so that her Daughters had much ado to save a Petticoat, Headclothes, Gloves, or *Venice* Point. And I verily believe, that if she could have committed her Lovers to the Flames, when she left them off, she would have done it with all her Heart. Madame her Mother, who endeavoured to set her at Variance with me, when she was resolved to unite herself intirely with the Court, could not succeed, tho' she went so far that Madame *de Guimene* caused a Letter to be read to her in my Hand, whereby I devoted myself, Body and Soul, to Her, as Witches give themselves to the Devil.

It was at that Time, that Madame *de Chevreuse* seeing herself out of Play at *Paris*, resolved to retire to *Dampierre*, where, depending upon what had been told her from Court, she hoped to be well received. I gave Vent to my Passion, which, in Truth, was not very great, to Mademoiselle *de Chevreuse*, and I took Care to have both the Mother and Daughter accompany'd out of *Paris*, quite to *Dampierre*, by all the Nobility and Gentlemen I had with me. I cannot finish this slight Sketch of the Condition I was in at *Paris*, without paying the Justice I owe to the Generosity of the Prince of *Conde*; who finding that a Person was come from the Prince of *Conti* at *Bourdeaux*, with a Design to attack me, told him, that he would have him hang'd up, if he did not go back to his Master in 2 Hours Time.

Marigny told me almost at the same Time, that observing the Prince of *Conde* to be very intent upon reading a Book, he took the Liberty to tell him, that sure it must needs be a very choice one, because he took such Delight in it; and that the Prince answered him, 'Tis true, I am very fond of it, for it shews me my Faults, which

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which no body has the Courage to tell me. This Book was intituled, *The Right and False Steps of the Prince of* Conde *and of the Cardinal* de Retz.

There were divers Negociations between the Parties, during which *Mazarin* gave himself the Pleasure of letting the Publick see Messieurs *de Rohan*, *de Chevigni*, and *de Goulas*, conferring with him, both before the King, as well as in private, at that very Instant when the Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince of *Conde* said publickly in the Assembly of the Chambers, that it ought to be the Preliminary of all Treaties, to have nothing to do with *Mazarin*. He acted a perfect Comedy in their Presence, pretending to be forcibly detained by the King, whom he begged with folded Hands to let him return to *Italy*.

On the 30*th* of *April*, there was so great a murmuring in Parliament, that the Duke of *Orleans* said, they should never see him there again till the Cardinal was gone.

On the 6*th* of *May*, the Remonstrances of the Parliament, and the Chamber of Accounts, were carried to the King with a great Body; as were on the 7*th* those of the Court of Aids and the City: The King's Answer to both was, that he would cause his Troops to retire, when those of the Princes were gone.

On the 10*th* it was resolved, that the King's Council should be sent to St. *Germains*, for a further Answer touching the Removal of Cardinal *Mazarin* from the Court and Kingdom, and the Armies from the Neighbourhood of *Paris*.

The 14*th*, there was a great ado again in the Parliament, where there was a confused Clamour for taking into Consideration the most proper Means for hindring the Riots and Disorders, daily committed in the City, and in the Hall of the Palace; upon which the Duke of *Orleans*, who was afraid left that under this Pretence the *Mazarins* of

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of Parliament ſhould make the Houſe take ſome Steps contrary to their Intereſts, came to the Palace on a ſudden, and propoſed that they ſhould grant him a full Power.

The 29*th*, being the Day that the Deputies of the Inqueſts deſired the Parliament to conſider of Ways and Means for raiſing the 150000 Livres, promiſed to him who ſhould bring Cardinal *Mazarin* to Juſtice; and the Archbiſhop's Grand Vicar coming up that Moment to the Bar of the King's Council, to confer about the Deſcent of the Shrine of St. *Genevieve*, a Member ſaid very pleaſantly: *We are this Day engaged in Devotion for a double Feſtival; we are appointing Proceſſions, and contriving how to murder a Cardinal.*

On the 20*th* of *June*, the King's Anſwer to the Parliament's Remonſtrances, was reported in Subſtance: That tho' his Majeſty was ſenſible, that the Demand of the Removal of Cardinal *Mazarin* was but a Pretence, yet he was willing to grant it, after Juſtice was done to the Cardinal's Honour, by ſuch Reparations as were due to his Innocence, provided the Princes would give him good Security for the Performance of their Propoſals, upon the Removal of the ſaid Cardinal: That therefore his Majeſty deſired to know, 1. Whether, in this caſe, they will renounce all Leagues and Aſſociations with Foreign Princes? 2. Whether they will not form new Pretenſions? 3. Whether they will come to Court? 4. Whether they will diſmiſs all the Foreigners that are in the Kingdom? 5. Whether they will diſband their Forces? 6. Whether *Bourdeaux* will return to its Duty, as well as the Prince of *Conti* and Madame *de Longueville*? 7. Whether the Places which the Prince of *Conde* has fortified, ſhall be put into the Condition they were in before the Breach?

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The Duke of *Orleans*, provoked at these Propositions, said, it was never known that a Son of *France*, and a Prince of the Blood, were treated like common Criminals; and that the Declaration which both had made, was more than sufficient to satisfy the Court.

On the 21*st*, it was moved in Parliament, that an Inventory should be taken of what remain'd of *Mazarin*'s Furniture. There having been in the Morning a great Commotion at the Palace, when the President and some others had like to have been kill'd by the Mob, M. *Beaufort* invited his Friends to meet him in the Afternoon in the Palace Royal, and having got together 4 or 5000 Beggars, he exhorted them to the Obedience which they owed to the Parliament. But 2 or 3 Days after this fine Sermon of his, the Sedition was more violent than ever.

On the 25*th*, the Princes declared in Parliament, that as soon as the Cardinal was departed the Kingdom, they would faithfully execute all the Articles contained in the King's Answer, and immediately send Deputies to compleat the rest.

On the 4*th* of *July*, a Mob assembled, who forced all that pass'd by to put a Handful of Straw in their Hats, upon which, the Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince of *Conde* went to the Town-House, and convinced the Assembly of the Necessity they were under to think of Defending themselves against *Mazarin*. And a Trumpeter arriving from his Majesty, with Orders to adjourn the Assembly for a Week, the People were much incensed, and call'd out to the Citizens to unite strictly with the Princes. They fell upon the first thing they met in their Way, threw Stones into the Windows of the Town-House, put fire to its Gates, and entring with drawn Swords, murder'd Monsieur *Le Gras*, the Master of Requests, and the Master of Accompts, and Twen-

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ty or Thirty Citizens perished in the Tumult. There was a general Consternation all over the City, all the Shops were shut in an Instant, and in some Parts they set up Barricades to stop the Rioters, who had almost overrun the whole Town. It was observ'd, that the Appearance of the Dutchess of *Beaufort* prevail'd more with the Mob to disperse, than the Exposing of the Host by the Curate of St. *John's*.

The late Riot had such an Effect on the Parliament, that the President *à Mortier*, and many of the Counsellors, kept away from the Public Assemblies for fear, notwithstanding they were enjoin'd, by a special Arret, to come and take their Places. The Magistrates, for the same Reason, did not go to the Town-House.

On the 18th, the Parliament Deputies being order'd to follow the King to *Pontoise*, the House pass'd an Arret for their immediate Return to Parliament; and the Prince of *Conde* and the Duke of *Beaufort* brought them into Town with 1200 Horse.

The Court in the mean Time, pass'd Arrets of Council, annulling those of the Parliament, and the Transactions of the Assembly at the Town-House.

On the 20th, the Parliament declared by an Arret, that the King, being Prisoner to Cardinal *Mazarin*, the Duke of *Orleans* should be desired to take upon him the Office of Lieutenant General of his Majesty, and the Prince, to take upon him the Command of the Army, as long as *Mazarin* should continue in the Kingdom, and that a Copy of the said Arret should be sent to all the Parliaments of the Kingdom; who should be desired to publish the like; but not one comply'd, except that of *Bourdeaux*. Nor was the Duke better obey'd by the several Governours of the Provinces, for but one vouchsafed him an Answer

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Anſwer when he acquainted them with his new Dignity, the Court having put them in Mind of their Duty by an Order of Council, publiſhed to vacate that of the Parliament, for eſtabliſhing the ſaid Lieutenancy. And in *Paris* it ſelf, the Duke's Authority was deſpis'd; for two Wretches having been condemned for ſetting Fire to the Town-Houſe, the Citizens, who were order'd to take care of the Execution, refuſed to obey.

On the 24th, it was order'd, that a General Aſſembly ſhould be held at the Town-Houſe, to conſider of Ways and Means to raiſe Money for ſubſiſting the Troops, and that the Statues at the Palace of *Mazarin* ſhould be ſold, to make up the Sum ſet upon the Cardinal's Head.

On the 29th, it was reſolv'd in the Town-Hall, to raiſe 800000 Livres for augmenting his Royal Highneſs's Troops; and to exhort all the great Towns of the Kingdom to an Union with the Metropolis.

The 6th of *Auguſt*, the King ſent a Declaration, ſignifying the Removal of the Parliament to *Pontoiſe*. There was a great Commotion in the Houſe, who agreed not to Regiſter it till the Cardinal was gone out of the Kingdom. As for the Parliament of *Pontoiſe*, which conſiſted of but 14 Officers, with three Préſidents at their Head, who had a little before retired in Diſguiſe from *Paris*, they made Remonſtrances likewiſe to the King, for removing Cardinal *Mazarin*. The King granted what was deſired of him, and that upon the Sollicitations of that honeſt Diſintereſted Miniſter, who withdrew from Court to *Beaillon*. This Comedy, ſo unworthy the Dignity of a King, was accompanied with Circumſtances that rendred it ſtill more ridiculous. The two Parliaments fulminated ſevere Arrets againſt one another; and that of *Paris* made an Order, that who-

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whosoever sate in the Assembly at *Pontoise* should be struck out of the Register.

At the same time that of *Pontoise* Register'd the King's Declaration, which contained an Injunction to the Parliament of *Paris*, the Chamber of Accounts, and the Court of Aids, that since Cardinal *Mazarin* was removed, they should now lay down their Arms, on Condition that his Majesty would grant an Amnesty, remove his Troops from about *Paris*, withdraw those that were in *Guienne*, allow a free and safe Passage to the *Spanish* Troops, and give the Princes Permission to send to his Majesty Persons to confer with his Ministers, concerning what remained to be adjusted. This same Parliament resolved to return their Thanks to his Majesty for removing the Cardinal, and most humbly to intreat the King to return to his good City of *Paris*.

On the 26*th*, they also register'd the King's Amnesty, or Royal Pardon, granted to all that had taken up Arms against him, but with such Restrictions, that very few could think themselves safe by it.

The King acquainted the Duke of *Orleans*, that he wonder'd, that since *Mazarin* was removed, he should delay, according to his own Declaration and Promise, to lay down his Arms, to renounce all Associations and Treaties, and to cause the Foreign Troops to withdraw; and that when this was done, those Deputies that should come to his Majesty from him, should be very welcome.

On the 3*d* of *September* the Parliament resolved, that their Deputies should wait upon the King, with their Thanks for removing Cardinal *Mazarin*, and to beseech his Majesty to return to *Paris*. That the Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince of *Conde* should be desired to write to the King and to assure him, they would lay down their

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Arms, as soon as his Majesty would be pleased to send the Passports for the safe Retreat of the Foreigners; together with an Amnesty in due Form, regist'd in all the Parliaments of the Kingdom: And that his Majesty should be petitioned to receive the Deputies of the Princes.

Pray indulge me a short Pause here, to consider the scandalous Arts, which Ministers palliate with the Name and Sacred Word of a Great King, and with which the most August Parliament of the Kingdom, *viz.* the Court of Peers, expose themselves to Ridicule, by such manifest Inconsistencies, as are more becoming the Levity of a College, than the Majesty of a Senate: In short, Persons are not sensible what they do in these State Paroxisms, which have somewhat of a Frenzy. I knew in those Days, some very honest Men, who were so fully satisfy'd of the Justice of the Cause of the Princes, that, upon Occasion, they could have laid down their Lives for it. And I also knew some eminently vertuous and disinterested Men, who would as gladly have been Martyrs for the Court. The Ambition of great Men manages such Dispositions just as it suits with their own Interests; they help to blind the rest of Mankind, and they even become blinder themselves than other People.

Honest M. *de Fontenay*, who had been twice Ambassador at *Rome*, a Man of great Experience and good Sense, and a hearty Well-wisher to his Country, daily condoled with me on the Lethargy into which the intestine Divisions had sunk the best Citizens and Patriots; we saw the *Spanish* Colours and Standards display'd upon *Pont-neuf*; the yellow Sashes of *Lorain* appeared at *Paris*, with the same Liberty as the Isabelles and Blue-eyes. People were so accustomed to these Spectacles, and to the News of Provinces, Towns, and Battles lost, that

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that they were become indolent and ſtupid. Several of my Friends blam'd my Inactivity, and deſired me to beſtir myſelf. They bid me, *Save the Kingdom*, *Save the City*; or elſe I ſhould fall from the greateſt Love to the greateſt Hatred of the People; the Frondeurs ſuſpected me for a Favourer of *Mazarin*'s Party, and the *Mazarins* thought I was engaged too much to the Frondeurs.

I was touch'd to the quick with a pathetick Speech made to me by M. *de Fontenay*: "You "ſee, ſays he, that *Mazarin*, like *Jack* in a Box, "plays at Bo-peep; but you ſee, that whether "he appears or diſappears, the Wire by which "the Puppet is drawn on or off the Stage, is "the Royal Authority; which is not like to be "broke by the Meaſures now on Foot. Abun-"dance of thoſe that appear to be his greateſt "Oppoſers, would be very ſorry to ſee him "cruſh'd; many others would be very glad to "ſee him get off; not one endeavours to ruin "him entirely. You may get clear of the Dif-"ficulty that embaraſſes you, by a Door which "opens into a Field of Honour and Liberty. "*Paris*, whoſe Archbiſhop you are, groans under "a heavy Load: The Parliament there is but "a meer Phantome; and the Town-houſe a "Deſert: The Duke of *Orleans*, and the Prince, "have no more Authority, than what the "Raſcally Mob is pleaſed to allow them: The "*Spaniards*, *Germans*, and *Lorainers*, are in the "Suburbs, laying all waſt to the very Gardens: "You that have reſcued them more than once, "and are their Paſtor, have been forced to keep "Guards in your own Houſe for 3 Weeks: And "you know, that at this Day your Friends are "under great Apprehenſions, if they ſee you "in the Streets without Arms. Do you count "it a ſlight Thing to put an End to all theſe

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"Miſe-

"Miſeries? And will you neglect the only "Moment Providence puts into your Hands, to "obtain the Honour of it? Take your Clergy "with you to *Compiegne*; thank the King for "removing *Mazarin*; and beg his Majeſty to "return to *Paris*; keep a good Correſpondence "with thoſe Bodies, who have no other Deſign "but the common Good, who are already "almoſt all your particular Friends, and who "look upon you as their Head, by reaſon of "your Dignity: And if the King actually re-"turns to the City, the People of *Paris* will be "obliged to you for it; if you meet with a "Refuſal, you will have ſtill their Acknow-"ledgments for your good Intention. If you can "get the Duke of *Orleans* to joyn with you, "you'll ſave the Realm; for I am perſwaded "that if he knew how to act his Part in this "Juncture, it would be in his Power to bring "the King back to *Paris*, and to prevent *Ma-"zarin* ever returning again. You are a Car-"dinal; you are Archbiſhop of *Paris*; you have "the good Will of the Publick, and are but 37 "Years old: *Save the City, Save the Kingdom.*"

In ſhort, the Duke of *Orleans* approved of my Scheme, and order'd me to convene a general Aſſembly of the Eccleſiaſtick Communities, and to get Deputies choſen out of them all, and go with them to Court, there to preſent the Deputation, which ſhould be in Effect, to requeſt the King to give Peace to his People, to return to his good City of *Paris*, and to endeavour, by my Friends, to induce the other Corporations of the City to do the like. I was to tell the Queen, that ſhe could not but be ſenſible, that the Duke was in good earneſt for Peace, which the Publick Engagements he was under to oppoſe *Mazarin* had not ſuffer'd him to conclude, or even to propoſe, while the Cardinal continued

Arms,

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at Court. That he renounced all private Views and Interests with relation to himself or Friends: That he desired nothing but the Security of the Publick: And that after he had had the Satisfaction to see the King at the *Louvre*, he would then with Joy retire to *Blois*, fully resolved to live in Peace, and provide for Eternity.

I set out immediately with the Deputies of all the Ecclesiastick Bodies of *Paris*, near 200 Gentlemen, and 50 of the Duke's Guards. The Number of my Attendants gave such Umbrage at Court, where it was ridiculously aggrandiz'd, that the Queen sent me Word I should have Accommodation but for 80 Horses, whereas I had no less than 112, only for the Coaches. If I had known as much when I went, as I heard after I returned, I should hardly have gone; for I was told, that some mov'd for Arresting me, and others for Killing me. However, the Queen received me very well; the King gave me the Cardinal's Cap, and a publick Audience.

I told the Queen in a private Audience, that I was not come only as a Deputy from the Church of *Paris*, but that I had another Commission, which I valued much more, because I took it to be more for her Service than the other; *viz.* that of an Envoy from the Duke of *Orleans*, who had charged me to assure her Majesty, that he was resolved to serve her effectually, and without Delay; as he had promised by a Note under his own Hand, which I then pull'd out of my Pocket. The Queen expressed a great deal of Joy, and said, "I knew very well, M. "Cardinal, that you would at last give some "particular Marks of your Affection for me.

The Queen told me, that she thank'd the Duke, that she was very much oblig'd to him; that she hoped and desired he would contribute towards making the necessary Dispositions for the King's

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Return to *Paris*, and that she would not take one Step but in Concert with him. At the same Time, I heard, that the Queen spoke disdainfully of me to my Enemies at Court, whom she dreaded; pretended that I had own'd *Mazarin* was an honest Man, and ridiculed me for the Expence I had put myself to in the Journey, which indeed was immense for so short a Time; because I kept 7 open Tables, and spent 800 Crowns a Day.

When I return'd to *Paris*, I was receiv'd with incredible Applause. The King also came thither on the 21*st* of *October*, and was welcom'd by the Acclamations of the People. The Queen receiv'd me with wonderful Respect, and bid the King embrace me, as one to whom he chiefly ow'd his Return to *Paris*; but Orders were sent to the Duke of *Orleans* to retire next Morning to *Limours*.

When I went to see him, he was all in Confusion, for he imagin'd it was only a Feint to try his Temper. He was in an inconceivable Agony, and fancy'd, that every Musket which was let off by way of Rejoycing for his Majesty's Return, was fired by the Soldiers coming to invest his Palace. Every Messenger that he sent out, brought him Word that all was quiet, but he would believe no body, and look'd continually out of the Window, to hearken if the Drums were beating the March. At last he took Courage to ask me, if I was firm to him; and after I had assured him of my Fidelity, he desired that as a Proof of my Attachment and Affection to him, I would be reconciled to M. *de Beaufort*: *With all my Heart*, said I: Whereupon he embraced me, went to open the Gallery Door by his Bed Chamber, and out came M. *de Beaufort*, who threw himself about my Neck, and said, *Pray ask his Royal Highness*

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ness what I have been saying to him concerning you: I know who are honest Men: Come on, Sir, let us drive all the Mazarins away for good and all. He endeavoured to shew both the Necessity and Possibility of it, and advised the making Barricadoes next Morning by break of Day in the Halls.

The Duke of *Orleans* turning about to me, and saying as they do in Parliament: *Your Opinion*, Mr. Dean. I told him, "That if I must give "it him as Dean, there never was more Occasion "for the 40 Hours Prayers than now. I myself "stand in need of them more than any body, "because I can give no Advice but what must "appear very cruel, and be attended with hor-"rid Inconveniencies. If I should advise you to "put up with the injurious Treatment you "undergo, will not the Publick, who always "make the worst of every Thing, have a "Handle to say, I betray your Interest; and "that my Advice was but a necessary Conse-"quence of all those Obstacles I threw in the "Princes Way: And if I give it as my Opi-"nion, that your Royal Highness should follow "the Measures which M. *de Beaufort* proposes, "shall I not be accounted one who blows hot "and cold in a Breath? Who is for Peace, when "he thinks to gain his Advantages by the "Treaty; but for War, when he is not admit-"ted to negotiate. One who is for destroying "*Paris* with Fire and Sword, and for carrying "the Flames to the Gates of the *Louvre*, by "attacking the very Person of the King. If you "obey, you will be responsible to the Publick, "for all it may suffer afterwards. I am no com-"petent Judge of what it may suffer in parti-"cular; for who can foresee Events depending "on the Whimsies of a Cardinal, on the Storm-"ings of *Undedey*, the Impertinency of the Ab-

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" bot *Fouquet*, and the Violence of *Servien?* But " you will have to answer for all, becauſe the " Publick will be perſwaded that you might " have prevented it. If you do not obey, you " may go near to overturn the Realm. Here the Duke interrupted me eagerly, and ſaid, This is not to the Purpoſe; the Queſtion is, if I am in a Condition, that is, if it is in my Power to diſobey. I believe ſo, ſaid I; for I do not ſee how the Court can oblige you to obey, unleſs the King himſelf ſhould march to *Luxemburgh*, which would be a Matter of great Importance: Nay, M. *de Beaufort* ſaid, it would be impoſſible; and I perceived the Duke began to think ſo too, for it fitted his Humour, who could not abide to take any Pains; and upon this Suppoſition reſolv'd to ſtay at Home with his Arms folded. I ſaid, you are able to do any Thing to Night, and to Morrow Morning; but I cannot anſwer how it may be in the Evening. M. *de Beaufort*, who thought that I was going to argue for the offenſive, fell in roundly with me to ſecond me; but I ſtopt him ſhort, by telling him, he miſtook my Meaning: I ſhall never preſume, ſaid I, to give Advice in the Condition Things are now in. The Duke himſelf muſt decide, and even propoſe to, and 'tis our Buſineſs to perform his Commands. Then he ſaid, *If I ſhould reſolve to ſtand it out, will you declare for me?* Yes, ſaid I, 'tis what I ought in Duty. I am attached to your Service, in which I ſhall certainly not be wanting, and you need only to command me: But I am very much griev'd, that, conſidering the preſent State of Affairs, an honeſt Man cannot act the honeſt Part, do what you can. The Duke, who was by Nature good, but not very tender, could not help being moved at what I ſaid; the Tears came into his Eyes, he embraced me, and asked me, if I thought he

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he could ſecure the King's Perſon. I told him that nothing was more impoſſible. I found at length, that he was inclin'd to obey, but he bid us keep our Friends together in a readineſs, and to be with him at break of Day; but he ſet out for *Limours* an Hour ſooner than what he had told us, and left one to tell us, that he had his Reaſons for ſo doing, which we ſhould know another Day, adviſing us, if poſſible, to make our Peace with the Court.

On the 22d, the King held his Bed of Juſtice at the *Louvre*, where he publiſh'd the Amneſty, as alſo an Order for Re-eſtabliſhing the Parliament at *Paris*, in which there was a Clauſe, forbidding them to meddle with State Affairs. At the ſame time he caus'd a Declaration to be publiſh'd, ordering Meſſieurs *de Beaufort*, *Rohan*, *Viole*, *de Thou*, *Brouſſel*, *Portail*, *Bitaud*, *Croiſſi*, *Machaut*, *Fleury*, *Martineau*, and *Perraut*, to depart the City.

The Court now began to offer me Terms of Reconciliation. I was deſirous that as many of my Friends as poſſible ſhould be included; but *Caumartin*, who was in the Secret of Affairs, told me, there was no hopes of procuring any Advantages for particular Perſons; that all that cou'd be done was, to ſave the Ship for another Voyage, and that this Ship, which was my ſelf, cou'd be ſaved no other Way, in the Condition into which our Affairs were fallen by the Duke of *Orleans*'s want of Reſolution, but by launching out into the Main, and Steering towards *Rome*. "You "ſtand, ſaid he, as it were on the Point of a "Needle, and if the Court knew their Strength, "they would rout you as they do the reſt; your "Courage gives you an Air that both deceives and "diſquiets them. Make uſe of the preſent Mo- "ment for obtaining what may be ſerviceable

"to

"to you in your Employ at *Rome*, for the "Court will deny you nothing.

Montresor hearing of it, said to me afterwards with an Oath; *He is a Villain that says your Eminence can make your Peace honourably without making Terms for your Friends; he that affirms the contrary, doth it for his own private Ends.* Therefore I refused the Offers made me by *Servien*, which were, that the King would resign his Affairs in *Italy* to my Care, and allow me a Pension of 50000 Crowns, that I should have 100000 Crowns towards paying off my Debts, and 50000 in Hand towards Furniture; that I should continue three Years at *Rome*, and then return to resume my Functions at *Paris*.

The Princess *Palatine* told me, I ought either to accept, or to treat with the Cardinal, since all the Subalterns were against me. Madame *de Lesdiguieres* advised me to carry it fair, and keep within Doors, adding, that the Cardinal, who was impatient to return to *Paris*, but durst not, as long as I staid, would make me a Bridge of Gold to go out, and agree to whatever I demanded. Accordingly I sent my Proposals to the Cardinal, who was then lurking in *Turenne*'s Army upon the Frontiers, and desired such and such Posts for my Friends. Mean time *Servien* and the Abbot *Fouquet* endeavour'd to exasperate the Queen, by telling her, that I was continually caballing with the Annuitants and Officers of the Militia; and because I refused to go to Parliament, in Obedience to the King's Orders, when he held his Court of Justice there, to Register the Declaration of High-Treason against the Prince of *Condé*, the Queen was made to believe, that I manag'd underhand for the Prince, and therefore resolv'd to ruine me cost what it would. One Officer posted Men in an House near Madame *de Pomereux*, to attack me; another was employ'd

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play'd to get Intelligence at what time of Night I uſed to go and Viſit her; a third had an Order, ſigned by the King, to attack me in the Street, and bring me off dead or alive. An unknown Perſon adviſed me not to go that Day to *Rambouillet*; but I went with 200 Gentlemen, and found a great many Officers of the Guards, who, whatever were their Orders, were in no Condition to attack me, and receiv'd me with Reverence; but I blam'd my ſelf for it afterwards, becauſe it only tended to incenſe the Court the more againſt me.

Upon All-Saints Day, I preach'd at *St. Germain*, which is the King's Pariſh, where their Majeſties did me the Honour to be preſent; for which, I went next Day to return them Thanks; but finding that the Cautions ſent me from all Quarters multiply'd very faſt, I did not go to the *Louvre* till the 19*th* of *December*, when I was Arreſted in the Queen's Antichamber, by the Captain of the Guards then in Waiting, who carry'd me into an Apartment, where the Officers of the Kitchin brought me Dinner, of which I eat heartily, to the Mortification of the baſe Courtiers: tho' I did not take it well to ſee my Pockets turn'd inſide out, as if I had been a Cut-purſe. This Ceremony, which is not common, was perform'd by the Captain; but he found nothing, except a Letter from the King of *England*, deſiring me to try if the Court of *Rome* would aſſiſt him with Money. When this Letter came to be talk'd of, it was maliciouſly reported that it came from the Protector. I was carry'd in one of the King's Coaches, under a Guard, to St. *Vincennes*. As we paſs'd, we found at ſeveral of the Gates a Batallion of *Swiſs* with their Pikes preſented towards the City, where every Body was quiet, tho' their Sorrow and Conſternation was viſible enough. I was inform'd however,

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ever, afterwards, that all the Butchers in the Veal-Market were going to take Arms, and that they might have made Barricades there with all the Eaſe in the World, only they were reſtrain'd, for fear that I ſhould have paid for their Tumults with the Loſs of my Life; ſo that the Women remain'd in Tears, and the Men ſtood ſtock ſtill in a Fright. I was confin'd at *Vincennes* for a Fortnight together, in a Room as big as a Church, without any Firing. My Guards pilfer'd my Linnen, Apparel, Shoes, *&c.* ſo that ſometimes I was forc'd to lye a Bed a Week or 10 Days together for want of Clothes to dreſs me. I could not but think that ſuch Treatment had been order'd by the Higher Powers, on purpoſe to break my Heart; but I reſolv'd not to die that way; and tho' my Guard ſaid all he could to vex me, I ſeem'd to take no notice.

The Inſtances of the Clergy of *Paris* obliged the Court to explain it ſelf concering the Cauſes of my Impriſonment, by the Mouth of the Chancellor, who, in the Preſence of the King and Queen, acquainted them, that his Majeſty had cauſed me to be arreſted for my own good, and to prevent me from putting ſomething that I deſign'd in Execution. The Chapter of *Notre Dame* had an Anthem to be ſung every Day for my Deliverance. The *Sorbonne*, and many of the Religious Orders, diſtinguiſh'd themſelves by declaring for me. This general ſtir oblig'd the Court to treat me ſomewhat better than at firſt. They let me have ſome Books, but by Tale, and without Ink and Paper, and they allow'd me a Valet de Chambre, and a Phyſician.

During my Confinement at *Vincennes*, which laſted 15 Months, I ſtudied both Day and Night, eſpecially the *Latin* Tongue, in which I perceiv'd one cannot beſtow too much Pains, ſince it takes in all other Studies. I div'd into the

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Greek alſo, and review'd the 9th Decade of *Livy*, which I had formerly delighted in, and found as pleaſant as ever. I compos'd, in Imitation of *Boetius*, a Treatiſe, which I intituled, *Conſolation de la Theologie*; i. e. *The Comfort of Theology*; in which I prov'd, that every Priſoner ought to endeavour to be *Vinctus in Chriſto*. i. e. *in the Bonds of Chriſt*, mention'd by St. *Paul*. I alſo compiled that call'd *Partus Vincennarum*, which was a Collection of the Acts of the Church of *Milan*, for the Uſe of the Church of *Paris*.

My Guard omitted nothing he could invent to make my Life uneaſie, and diſturb my Studies. One Day he came and told me, that he had receiv'd Orders from the King to give me an Airing on the Top of the *Donjon*. And when he perceiv'd that I took a Pleaſure in walking there, he inform'd me with Joy in his Looks, that he had Orders to the contrary. I told him that they were come in good Time, for the Air, which was too ſharp there, had made my Head ake. Afterwards he offer'd me to come down into the Tenis-Court, to ſee my Guards at Play; I deſir'd him to excuſe me, becauſe I thought the Air would be too piercing for me; but he made me go, telling me that the King, who took more care of my Health than I fancied, had order'd that he ſhould give me ſome Exerciſe; ſoon after, he deſir'd me to excuſe him for not bringing me down again, for Reaſons, ſaid he, which I muſt not tell. The Truth was, I was ſo much above theſe Chicanries, that I deſpis'd them; but I muſt own, I uſed to think with my ſelf, that in the main, to be a Priſoner of State, was of all others the moſt Afflicting. All the Relaxation I had from my Studies was, to divert my ſelf with ſome Rabbets on the top of the *Donjon*, and ſome Pidgeons in the Turrets; for which I was oblig'd to the continual

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Solicitations of the Church of *Paris*. I had not been a Priſoner above nine Days, but one of my Guards, while his Comrade, who watched with me was aſleep, came and ſlipt a Note into my Hand, from Madame *de Pomereux*, in which were only theſe Words; *Let me have your Anſwer, you may ſafely truſt the Bearer.* The Bearer gave me a Pencil and a bit of Paper, in which I wrote, that I had receiv'd her Letter.

Notwithſtanding three Serjeants and twenty four Life Guards reliev'd one another every Day, our Coreſpondence was not interrupted. Madame *de Pomereux*, Monſieur *de Caumartin*, and *de Haqueville*, wrote me Letters twice a Week conſtantly, about the Means how I might eſcape, which I attempted twice, but in vain.

The Abbot *Charier*, who ſet out for *Rome* the Day after I was arreſted, found Pope *Innocent* incenſed to the higheſt Degree, and ready to throw his Thunder upon the Heads of the Authors of it. He ſpoke of it to the *French* Ambaſſador with great Reſentment, and ſent the Archbiſhop of *Avignon* with the Character of Nuncio Extraordinary, on purpoſe to ſollicit my Enlargement. The King was in a Fury, and forbad the Nuncio to paſs *Lyons*. The Pope told the Abbot *Charier*, that he was afraid to expoſe his and the Church's Authority to the Fury of a Madman, and ſaid: *Give me but an Army, and I will furniſh you with a Legat.* It was a difficult Matter indeed to get him that Army, but not impoſſible, if thoſe that ſhould have ſtood my Friends, had not left me in the Lurch.

Mean time, *Noirmoutier* and *Buſſi Lamet*, wrote a Letter to *Mazarin*, declaring they could not help proceeding to Extremities if I was detain'd any longer in Priſon. The Prince of *Condé* declar'd he would do any thing without exception, which my Friends deſir'd, for my Liberty, and offer'd

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offer'd to march all the *Spaniſh* Forces to their Aſſiſtance; but the Misfortune was, that there was no Body to form the proper Schemes; and *Noirmoutier*, who was the moſt Enterpriſing Man of 'em all, was hindred from Action by Madame *de Chevreuſe* and *Laigues*, who, the Cardinal ſaid, ſhould be accountable for the Actions of their Friends; and that if they fir'd one Piſtol ſhot, they muſt expect what would follow. Therefore *Noirmoutier* was glad to elude all the Propoſitions of the Prince of *Conde*, and to be content with only Writing and Speaking in my Favour, and firing the Cannon at the Drinking of my Health.

Monſieur *de Pradello*, who commanded the *French* and *Swiſs* Guards in the Caſtle, came one Day to tell me of the happy Return of Cardinal *Mazarin* to *Paris*, and of his Magnificent Reception at the Town-Houſe; and he aſſur'd me, that the Cardinal had ſent him to aſſure me of his moſt humble Services, and to beg of me to be perſwaded, that he would forget nothing that might be for my Service; I made as if I did not heed the Compliment, and was for talking of ſomething elſe; but as he preſs'd me for a direct Anſwer, I told him that I ſhould have been ready at the firſt Word to ſhew him my Acknowledgments, were I not perſwaded that the Duty of a Priſoner to the King, did not permit him to explain himſelf in any thing relating to his Enlargement, till his Majeſty had been graciouſly pleaſed to grant it him. He underſtood my Meaning, and endeavour'd to perſwade me to return a more obliging Anſwer to the Cardinal, but could not.

The Cardinal was ſo teiz'd with Complaints from *Rome*, and ſo diſturb'd with the Diſcontents which prevail'd in *Poitou* and *Paris*, upon account of my Impriſonment, that he ſent me an

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an offer of my Liberty, and great Advantages, on Condition I would resign the Coadjutorship of *Paris*.

The Sollicitations of the Chapter of *Notre Dame* prevail'd on the Court to consent that one of their Body might be always with me, who, tho' he came gladly into it for my sake, fell into a deep Melancholy; but could not be prevailed upon to go out, and being soon after seiz'd with a Fever, cut his *own* Throat. My Uncle dying soon after, Possession was taken of the Archbishoprick in my Name, by my Proxy; and *Tellier*, who was sent to *Notre-Dame* Church to oppose it on the Part of the King, was mortify'd with the Thunder of my Bulls from *Rome*: The People were surpriz'd to see all the Formalities observ'd to a nicety, at a Juncture when they thought there was no possibility of observing one. The Curates grew more Warm than usual, and my Friends blew up the Fire; the Nuncio thinking himself bubbled by the Court, spoke in high Terms, and threatned his Censures. A little Book was publish'd, shewing the Necessity of shutting up the Churches, which rouz'd up the Cardinal's Apprehensions, and his Apprehensions naturally led him into Negociation. He amus'd me with Hundreds of fine Prospects of Church-Livings, Governments, *&c.* and the being restor'd to the good Graces of the King, and to the strictest Friendship with his Prime Minister.

I had more Liberty than before; they always carried me up to the Top of the *Donjon* whenever it was fair over Head; but my Friends, who did not doubt that all the Court wanted was, to get some Expression from me, of my Inclination to resign, in order to discredit me with the Public, charged me to be altogether on the Reserve, which I follow'd to a Tittle; so that

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that when a Captain of the Guards came from the King to discourse with me upon this Head, who, by *Mazarin's* Direction, talked to me more like an Aga of the Janisaries, than like an Officer of the Most Christian King, I desired Leave to give him my Answer in Writing, expressing my Contempt of all Threats and Promises, and an inviolable Resolution not to give up the Archbishoprick of *Paris*.

Next Day, the President *Believre* came to me on the Part of the King, with an Offer of Seven Abbeys, provided I would quit my Archbishoprick. But he open'd himself to me with entire Freedom, and said, he could not but think what a Fool the *Sicilian* was, to send him on such an Errand; "Most of your Friends, said *Believre*, "think, that you need only to stand it out re- "solutely, and that the Court will be glad to "set you at Liberty, and send you to *Rome*. "But 'tis a horrid Mistake; for the Court will "be satisfied with nothing but your Resignation. "When I say the Court, I mean *Mazarin*; for "the Queen will not hear the Thought of giv- "ing you your Liberty. The chief Thing that "determines *Mazarin* to think of your Liberty, "is his Fear of the Nuncio, the Chapter, the "Curates, and the People: But I dare affirm, "that the Nuncio will threaten high, but do "nothing; the Chapter may perhaps make Re- "monstrances, but to no Purpose; the Curates "will preach, and that's all; the People will "clamour, but take up no Arms. The Conse- "quence will be, your Removal to *Brest* or "*Havre de Grace*, and leaving you in the Hands "of your Enemies, who will use you as they "please. I know that *Mazarin* is not blood- "thirsty; but I tremble to think of what "*Noailles* has told you, that they are resolved

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" to make Haſte, and take ſuch Methods as " other States have furniſhed Examples of. " You may perhaps infer from hence, that I " would have you reſign. By no Means. I am " come to tell you, that if you reſign, you " will do a diſhonourable Thing; and that " it behoves you on this Occaſion to anſwer " the great Expectation the World now is in, " on your Account; even to the hazarding of " your Life, and of your Liberty, which I am " perſwaded you value more than Life itſelf. " Now is the Time for you to put in Practice " more than ever, thoſe Maxims for which we have " ſo much combated you; *viz. I dread no Poiſon " nor Sword! Nothing can hurt me but what's with- " in me! It matters not where one dies!* Thus " you ought to anſwer thoſe that ſpeak to you " about your Reſignation.

I was carried from *Vincennes* under a Guard to *Nantes*; where I had a World of Viſits and Diverſions, and was entertain'd with a Comedy almoſt every Night, and the Company of the Ladies, particularly the charming Mademoiſelle *de la Vergne*, who in good Truth did not approve of me, either becauſe ſhe had no Inclination for me, or elſe, becauſe her Friends had ſet her againſt me, by telling her of my Inconſtancy and different Amours. I entertained her Cruelty with my natural Indifference; and the full Liberty Mareſchal *de Meilleraye* allowed me with the City Ladies, gave me Abundance of Comfort; nevertheleſs I was kept under a very ſtrict Guard. As I had ſtipulated with *Mazarin*, that I ſhould have my Liberty, on Condition that I would reſign my Archbiſhoprick at *Vincennes*, which I knew would not be valid, I was ſurpriz'd to hear, that the Pope refuſed to ratifie it; becauſe tho' it would not have made my Reſignation a jot the more Binding, yet it would have procured

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my Liberty. I propoſed Expedients to the Holy See, by which the Court might do it with Honour; but the Pope was inflexible; thought it would ſhock his Reputation, to conſent to a Violence ſo injurious to the whole Church; and ſaid to my Friends, who begg'd his Conſent with Tears in their Eyes, that he could never anſwer to conſent to a Reſignation extorted from a Priſoner by Force.

After ſeveral Conſultations with my Friends how to make my Eſcape, I effected it *Auguſt* the 8*th*, at 5 in the Evening: I let myſelf down to the Bottom of the Baſtion 40 Foot high, with a Rope, while my *Valet de Chambre* treated the Guards with as much Liquor as they could drink. They were moreover taken up with looking at a *Jacobin* Friar, who happen'd to be drown'd as he was bathing. A Centinel ſeeing me, was taking up his Match to fire; but dropp'd it, upon my threatning to have him hang'd; and he ſaid upon Examination, that he believ'd Mareſchal *de la Meilleraye* was in Concert with me. Two Pages that were waſhing themſelves, ſaw me alſo, and call'd out, but were not heard. My 4 Gentlemen waited for me at the Bottom of the Ravelin, on Pretence of watering their Horſes; ſo that I was on Horſeback before the leaſt Notice was taken; and having 40 freſh Horſes planted on the Road, I might have reached *Paris* very ſoon, if my Horſe had not fallen, and broke my Shoulder-boue; the Pain of which was ſo extream, that I had like to have fainted away ſeveral Times; and not being able to go throughout the Stage, was lodg'd with only one of my Gentlemen, in a great Hay-mow, while Meſſieurs *Briſſac* and *Joly* went ſtrait to *Beaupreau*, to aſſemble the Nobility there, in order to reſcue me. I lay hid there above 7 Hours, under inexpreſſible Miſery, for my Pain and Contuſion threw me

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into a Fever, during which my Thirſt was much augmented by the Smell of the new *Hay*; but though we were by a River-ſide, we durſt not venture out for Water, becauſe there was no body to put the Mow in Order again, which would very probably have occaſion'd a Suſpicion and a Search. We heard nothing but Horſemen riding by, who, we were afterwards informed, were the Mareſchal *de la Meilleray*'s Scouts: But about a a Clock in the Morning, I was fetch'd out of the Mow, by a *Pariſian* of Quality, ſent by my Friend *Briſſac*, and carried on a Hand-barrow to a Barn, where I was again buried alive, as it were, in Hay for 7 or 8 Hours, when M. *Briſſac* and his Lady came with 15 or 20 Horſe, and carry'd me to *Beaupreau*. From thence we proceeded almoſt in Sight of *Nantes*, to *Machecoul* in the Country of *Retz*, after having had a Rencounter with ſome of *Meilleray*'s Guards, wherein we repulſed them to the very Barrier.

The Mareſchal *de la Meilleraye* was ſo amazed at my Eſcape, that he threatned to deſtroy this whole Country with Fire and Sword; for which Reaſon I was an unwelcome Gueſt to Madame *de Retz*, and her Father, who rallied me very uncharitably for my Diſobedience to the King: We thought fit therefore to leave the Country, and went aboard a Ship for *Belle-Iſle*, from whence, after a very ſhort Stay there, we eſcap'd to *St. Sebaſtian*.

Upon my Arrival there, I ſent a Letter to the King of *Spain*, to deſire Leave to paſs through his Dominions to *Rome*. The Meſſenger was received at Court with Civilities beyond Expreſſion; and ſent back next Day with the Preſent of a Gold Chain worth 800 Crowns. I had alſo one of the King's Litters ſent me, and an Invitation to go to *Madrid*; but I deſired to be excuſed: And tho' I alſo refuſed immenſe Offers, if I would but go to *Flanders*,

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Flanders, and treat with the Prince of *Conde*, &c. for the Service of *Spain*; yet I had a Velvet Coffer sent me with 40000 Crowns in it, which I likewise thought fit to refuse; but as I had no Linen nor Apparel, either for myself or Servants, and that the 400 Crowns which we got by the Sale of Pilchards, on Board the Bark in which we came from *Belle Isle*, was almost spent, I borrowed 400 Crowns of the Baron *de Vateville*, who commanded for the King of *Spain* in *Guipuscoa*, and faithfully repaid him.

From *Sebastian* I travell'd *incognito* to *Tudela*, where I was met by the King's Mule-drivers, and waited on by the Alcaid, who left his Wand at my Chamber-door, and at his Entrance kneel'd, and kiss'd the Hem of my Garment. From hence I was conducted to *Cortes*, by 50 Musketeers riding upon Asses; who were sent me by the Viceroy of *Navarre*. At *Saragossa* I was taken for the King of *England*, and above 200 Coaches full of Ladies came to pay me their Respects. From thence I proceeded to *Vivaros*, where I had rich Presents from the Viceroy of *Valencia*. And from thence I sailed to *Majorca*, whose Viceroy met me with above 100 Coaches of the *Spanish* Nobility, and carried me to Mass at the Cathedral, where I saw 30 or 40 Ladies of Quality, of more than common Charms; and, to speak the Truth, the Women there in general are very fine Beauties, having a graceful Tincture both of the Lilly and the Rose, and a peculiar Head-dress, which is exceeding pretty. The Viceroy, after having treated me with a magnificent Dinner under a Tent of Gold Brocard near the Sea-side, carry'd me to a Concert of Musick in a Convent, where I found the Nuns not inferiour in Beauty to the Ladies of the Town. The Viceroy carry'd me to see his Lady, who was as ugly as a Witch; but fate

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under a great Canopy ſparkling with precious Stones, which gave a wonderful Luſtre to about 60 Ladies with her, who were the handſomeſt in the whole Town. I was re-conducted on Board my Galley with Muſick, and a Diſcharge of the Artillery, and ſailed to *Port Mahon*, and from thence through the Gulph of *Lions*, to the Canal betwixt *Corſica* and *Sardinia*, where our Ship had like to have been caſt away upon a Sand-bank; but with great Difficulty we got her off, and reached *Porto Longone*. There we quitted the Galley, and went by Land to *Piombino*.

ME-

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MEMOIRS

OF THE

Cardinal *De RETZ*, &c.

BOOK V.

I Travell'd from *Piombino* to *Florence*, where I had great Honours, and vaſt Offers from the Grand Duke, though *Mazarin* had threaten'd him in the King's Name with a Rupture, if he granted me Paſſage through his Dominions; but the Great Duke ſent to deſire the Cardinal to let him know, whether there was any Poſſibility of refuſing it, without diſobliging the Pope, and the Sacred College. As I was travelling through the Duke's Country, my Mules being frighten'd by a Clap of Thunder, ran with my Litter into a Brook, where I had like to have been drown'd.

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As ſoon as I arrived at *Rome*, the Pope ſent me 4000 Crowns in Gold. I was immediately adviſed, that a ſtrong Faction was formed there againſt me by the Court of *France*; that the Cardinal *d'Eſt*, Protector of that Nation, had terrible Orders from the King; and that they were reſolv'd to ſend me packing from *Rome*, coſt what it would. I had my old Scruples upon me, and ſaid, I would die a thouſand Deaths, rather than make Reſiſtance; but I thought it would be too diſreſpectful in a Cardinal to come ſo near the Pope, and go away without kiſſing his Feet; and reſolv'd to leave the reſt to the Providence of God.

The Pope having order'd his Guards to be ready, in caſe the *French* Faction ſhould offer to riſe, the Cardinal *d'Eſt* was ſo good as to let me alone. His Holineſs gave me an Audience of 4 Hours, condeſcended to beg my Excuſe, that he had not acted with more Vigour for my Liberty; and ſaid with Tears in his Eyes, *God forgive thoſe who delay'd to give me the firſt Advice of your Impriſonment, and who made us believe, that you had been guilty of an Attempt upon the King's Perſon. The Sacred College took Fire at the News; but the* French *Ambaſſador being at Liberty to give out what he liſt, becauſe no body appear'd here on your Part to contradict him,* Mazarin *extinguiſh'd it, and half the Sacred College thought you was abandoned by the whole Kingdom.* In ſhort, the Pope was ſo well diſpoſed to me, that he thought to have adopted me for his Nephew, but he ſickened ſoon after and died.

The Conclave choſe Cardinal *Chigi* (who was called *Alexander* VII.) for his Succeſſor, in whoſe Election I had ſuch a Share, that when it came to my Turn, at the Adoration of the Cardinals, to kiſs his Feet, he embraced me, ſaying aloud, Signior Cardinal *de Retz, Ecce opus manuum tuarum*: i. e. Behold the Work of your own Hands. I went

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must Home accompanied with 120 Coaches of Gentlemen, who did not doubt but I should govern the Pontificate.

My Friends in *France*, who commonly judge of other Nations by their own, imagined, that a perfecuted Cardinal might, nay, ought to live like a private Man, even at *Rome*; and adviſed me not to ſpend much Money, becauſe my Revenues in *France* were all ſeiz'd; and that ſuch exemplary Modeſty would have an admirable Effect upon the Clergy of *Paris*. But Cardinal *Chigi* talk'd after another Manner: "When "you are re-eſtabliſh'd in your See, you may "live ſo as you pleaſe, becauſe you will be "in a Country where every body will know "what you are, or are not able to do. You "are now at *Rome*, where your Enemies ſay "every Day, that you have loſt your Credit "in *France*; and you are under a Neceſſity to "make it appear, that what they ſay is falſe. "You are not a Hermit, but a Cardinal; and "a Cardinal too of the better Rank. At *Rome* "there's Abundance of People, who love to "tread upon Men when they are down. "Dear Sir, take Care you don't fall, and do "but conſider what a Figure you will make "in the Streets, with Six Vergers attending "you; otherwiſe every pitiful Citizen of *Paris* "that meets you, will be apt to joſtle you, "in order to make his Court to the Cardinal "d'Eſt. You ought not to have come to *Rome*, "if you had not had Reſolution, and the "Means to ſupport your Dignity. I preſume "you don't make it a Point of Chriſtian Hu-"mility to debaſe your ſelf: And let me tell "you, that I, the poor Cardinal *Chigi*, who "have but 5000 Crowns Revenue, and am one "of the pooreſt in the College, and though

"I am

" I am ſure to meet no Body in the Streets that " will be wanting in the Reſpect due to the Pur- " ple, yet I cannot go to my Functions " without four Coaches in a Livery to attend " me.

Therefore I hired a Palace, kept a great Table, and entertain'd fourſcore Perſons in Liveries; for the Cardinal *d' Eſt*, the very Day after the Creation of the new Pope, forbid all *French* Men to give me the Way in the Streets, and had charg'd the Superiours of the *French* Churches not to admit me. Monſieur *de Lionne*, who reſided here as a ſort of private Secretary to *Mazarin*, was ſo nettled, becauſe the new Pope had granted me the *Pallium* for my Archbiſhoprick, that he told him, the King would never own me; and ſeem'd to inſinuate, that there would be a Schiſm among the Clergy, of *France*; and that the Pope muſt expect to be excluded from the Congreſs for a General Peace; which ſo frighten'd his Holineſs, that he made a Million of mean Excuſes, and ſaid, with Tears in his Eyes, that I had impoſed upon him; and that he would take the firſt Opportunity to do the King Juſtice. Upon this, Monſieur *de Lionne* ſent word to the Cardinal, that he hoped very ſhortly to acquaint him of my being a Priſoner in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*; and that the Cardinal would be never the better for his Majeſty's Amneſty, becauſe the Pope ſaid, none but he could abſolve or condemn Cardinals. Mean time all my Domeſticks, who were Subjects to the King of *France*, were order'd to quit my Service, on Pain of being treated as Rebels and Traitors. I could have little Hopes of Protection from the Pope, for he was become quite another Man, never ſpoke one Word of Truth, and continually amus'd himſelf with meer Trifles, inſomuch, that one Day he propoſed

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poſed a Reward for whoſoever found out a *Latin* Word for *Calaſh*; and ſpent ſeven or eight Days in examining whether *Moſco* came from *Muſca*, or *Muſca* from *Moſco*; all his Piety conſiſted in a ſerious Look at Church, in which, nevertheleſs, there was a great Mixture of Pride, for he was vain to the laſt Degree, and envious of every Body. That call'd, *Sindicato di Alexandro* VII. gives an Account of his Luxury, and of ſeveral Paſquinades againſt the ſaid Pope, particularly, that one Day *Marforio* asking *Paſquin* what he ſaid to the Cardinals upon his Death-bed, *Paſquin* anſwer'd, *Maxima de ſeipſo, plurima de parentibus, parva de principibus, turpia de Cardinalibus, pauca de Eccleſiâ, de Deo nihil*; i. e. He ſaid fine things of himſelf, a great many things of his Kindred, ſome things of Princes, could not give the Cardinals a good Word, ſaid but little of the Church, and nothing at all of God. His Holineſs, in a Conſiſtory, pretended to the Merit of the Converſion of *Chriſtina* Queen of *Sweden*, tho' every Body knew to the contrary, and that ſhe had abjured Hereſie a Year and half before ſhe came to *Rome*.

Having heard that *Buſſiere*, who is Chamberlain to the Ambaſſadors at *Rome*, had declar'd, I ſhould not have a Place in St. *Lewis*'s Church on the Feſtival of that Saint, I was not diſcouraged from going thither: At my Entrance, he ſnatch'd the Holy Water Stick from the Curate juſt as he was going to ſprinkle me; nevertheleſs I took my Place, and was reſolv'd to keep up the Train and Port of a *French* Cardinal.

This was my Condition at *Rome*, where it was my Fate to be a Refugee, perſecuted by my King, and abuſed by the Pope. All my Revenues were ſeiz'd, and the *French* Bankers forbid to ſerve me; nay, thoſe who had an Inclination

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on to assist me, were forc'd to promise they would not. Two of the Abbot *Fouquet's* Bastards were publickly maintain'd out of my Revenues, and no Methods were omitted to hinder the Farmers from relieving me, or my Creditors from harrassing me with vexatious and expensive Law-suits.

FINIS.

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